The Outlook

Vol. 64 March 17, 1900 No. 11

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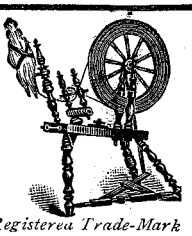

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The Outlook

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Congress: The Puerto Rican Debate

When the Puerto Rican Bill reached the Senate, the prospect seemed bright that it would be so amended as to grant the island freedom of trade with the United States. The demand for this change came from the press and commercial bodies in all the manufacturing centers of the country, and seemed to be equally strong in the agricultural districts not interested in the raising of sugar, tobacco, or tropical fruits. From the wheat-growing States of the Northwest it was strongest of all, for Puerto Rico must import her breadstuffs almost as largely as her manufactured goods, and therefore free trade with her seemed to promise an expansion of markets. Both of the Minnesota Senators—Davis and Nelson—favored extending to Puerto Rico the commercial rights given by the Constitution to citizens of the United States; and Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, offered an amendment permitting American grain to enter the island free from duty. From Senator Perkins, of California, however, came a strong protest that too large a concession had already been made to the demand for free trade with the Spanish islands; and from other quarters, including Connecticut, came similar protests that the protective system was endangered. When the debate opened on Thursday, it seemed that these last protests had prevailed. Senator Foraker, of Ohio, who reported the bill, had at first favored free trade with Puerto Rico, but his speech was a strong defense of the proposed tariff. He had changed his view, he said, and so had the President. The reported tariff bill, he declared, "was conceived in mercy toward Puerto Rico, and in its generosity is without precedent in the territorial legislation of the United States." The duties it imposed, whether on imports from the United States or on exports to the United States, would be paid into the Puerto Rican treasury; and the classes on whom the export duties fell are the classes best able to support the government of the island—the tobacco and sugar planters. None of these statements can be questioned except the one we have quoted in the Senator's own words. The proposed tariff denying to Puerto Ricans the same tax system we impose on ourselves was, there is too much reason to believe, not "conceived in mercy toward Puerto Rico," but in the fear that the competition of the Spanish islands would injure protected interests at home.

❀

The Funding Bill

The financial bill agreed upon by the conference committees of the House and Senate has passed the Senate by a vote of 44 to 26, and will doubtless be law before the close of this week. The provision now attracting the most attention is that allowing outstanding coin bonds, which are redeemable within eight years, to be exchanged for two per cent. gold bonds not redeemable for thirty years. The defense of this measure is that it secures for the Government a lower rate of interest, and provides for a large expansion of the currency by means of National bank notes. The criticism on this measure is that it extends the National debt for almost a generation in order to expand the currency by means of National bank notes. The saving of interest affected on outstanding bonds is small, for these bonds command a premium in the open market, and the Government offers very nearly this premium to those who exchange them for the new two per cents. The saving of interest effected during the few years the bonds have yet to run amounts to only one quarter of one

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per cent a year, or but two per cent. in all. This matter, therefore, is not important. What is important is the use of the new two per cent. bonds as a basis for the issue of National bank notes. The outstanding bonds made exchangeable aggregate over $800,000,000, and if all of them should be exchanged for the two per cents and used to secure a bank-note circulation, an enormous inflation of the currency would take place. Already some speculators are predicting such an inflation. A bank, they say, by paying $100,000 for the new two per cent. bonds, will be allowed to lend (or use as reserve) $100,000 of notes, subject only to a tax of one-half of one per cent. The interest the bank gets on its bonds, therefore, will be practically so much clear profit. Therefore, say these speculators, old banks and new banks are sure to get hold of all the two per cent. bonds possible, and use them to inflate the bank-note currency. The chief difficulty with this prediction is its assumption that the two per cent. bonds will remain at par. There are a large number of institutions which need to carry a large reserve, and use Government bonds for this purpose because they are instantly convertible into cash, are non-taxable, and yield a small rate of interest. These institutions will doubtless continue to use these bonds as they have done in the past. The supply of bonds available for currency will thus be limited, and the demand for them will cause them to go to a premium. It is probable that the new two per cents will presently be forced to such a premium that a bank can make no more by investing in them than if it lends its surplus directly to its patrons. When this premium is reached, the new two per cents will be used to extend the currency no more than the old forms have been for several years past. Without doubt the new bill will add considerably to the bank-note issues, but its most marked effect will probably be to raise the prices of Government bonds.

❀

The Shipping Subsidy Bill

The Ship Subsidy Bill has finally been reported favorably by the House Committee—all the Republican members of the Committee favoring it, and one of the Democratic members refusing to sign the adverse minority report. This attitude of the Committee, however, does not insure favorable action by the House, at least at the present session, for in the Committee a Democratic amendment permitting Americans to buy ships abroad free of duty received some support from the Western Republicans, and such an amendment might prevail in the House. The Committee, when appointed, was considered exceptionally favorable to the subsidy scheme, as nearly all the Democrats were chosen from the wing of the party least imbued with anti-monopoly sentiments, and the Republicans were all thought to be strong partisans of the measure. Yet even this Committee amended the original bill so as to make it possible to reduce the bounty if the steamship companies receiving it combined to advance rates. The details of the bill can be comprehended only by experts, but its general purpose is to take out of the public treasury $9,000,000 a year for the next twenty years and pay it to the owners of steamships now built or to be built in accordance with its provisions. The shipping interests claim that they will use the money in such a way as to benefit indirectly all other classes; but, as was suggested at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, there are other interests which would be willing to use $9,000,000 a year of public money in a way equally serviceable to the rest of the country. We believe that the time is fully come to unite all opponents of special legislation of this description in a vigorous campaign against it.

❀

The Nicaragua Canal Treaty

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty has been reported to the Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations, with a proposed amendment which provides that the conditions and stipulations of the treaty relating to the neutralization of the canal shall not "apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing, by its own forces, the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order." The Senate Committee, all of whom, with the exception of Senator Morgan, concur in the amendment, bases its introduction chiefly on the fact that in the Treaty of Constantinople, which governs the neutralization of the Suez Canal, the right is

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reserved to Egypt, and to Turkey as the suzerain of Egypt, to take measures "for securing by their own forces the defense of Egypt and the maintenance of public order." Under the present authority exercised over Egyptian affairs by Great Britain, this, it is said, would give Great Britain the right to exclude from the Suez Canal war-ships of the nation with which Great Britain actually, and perhaps therefore Egypt constructively, might be at war. But the cases are not parallel, for the United States does not stand in such a relation to Nicaragua as either Turkey or Great Britain does to Egypt. The agreements between the United States on the one hand, and Nicaragua and Costa Rica on the other, as to the canal, are still to be settled. Senator Morgan, who has generally been considered a radical in his advocacy of extreme American rights, in his minority report denies that it is necessary to provide for the right to defend our own country in a treaty with Great Britain. Such reservation, he says, is entirely superfluous and unnecessary; and he holds that the only legal effect of the amendment would be to annul neutralization of the canal. The majority report itself points out that from the beginning—that is, even before the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—the United States has taken the very ground reached in the Hay-Pauncefote convention, namely, "for the universal decree of the neutral, free, and innocent use of the canal as the world's highway, where war should not exist and where the honor of all nations would be a safer protection than fortresses for its security." Thus Senator Morgan defends Secretary Hay against such attacks as that of the New York "Sun," which maintains that "the primary condition of American ownership is the control of the canal in our own interests and against our enemies' interests when we are at war," and that therefore the Secretary of State's action in forming this treaty "must make the cheeks of Americans tingle"! Whether the treaty is imperiled by the proposed amendment or not, it is not improved by it. It is better for our interests, as well as for those of the world at large, that the Interoceanic Canal should be a world waterway, not an American waterway; protected by the world, not dependent on us for protection.

The Inter-State Commerce Commission

The Outlook hardly needs to say that it agrees heartily with the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Davis in his interesting and thoughtful article on the Inter-State Commerce Commission on another page. The public has practically given its great highways into the control of private enterprise, for the sake of the greater advantages furnished by their operation of these highways. For a time shippers depended on competition to keep rates reasonable; but, as was long since pointed out, where combination is possible competition is impossible; the combination of the great railroads has practically put an end to competition on the great inter-State routes; and competition never gave uniformity or regularity of rates, which is quite as important to the shipper as the rate itself. The public, therefore, must either take such accommodation as the private enterprise gives to it, at such price as the traffic will bear; or it must reserve to itself the power to ascertain what are reasonable rates and to determine them, subject to appeal to the courts by the carrier; or, finally, it must adopt the extreme measure of taking over the railroads into its own hands and operating them, as is done in Australia. The first method has been tried and is unendurable; the second method should be given a fair trial before resorting to the third; and, in our judgment, railroads which oppose Congressional action conferring such powers on the Inter-State Commission as are called for by Mr. Davis's article are seriously imperiling their own best interests by denying the evident rights of the public.

❀

Dr. Gladden's Example

Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio, has consented to be a candidate for the City Council at the April election. During the coming year the most important of the street railway franchises in that city are likely to be renewed, and the situation demands in the Council men who can be relied upon to look after the public interests. The ward in which Dr. Gladden lives is perhaps the wealthiest in the city, is strongly Republican, and is represented in the Council by a politician closely identified with corporation interests. Dr.

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Gladden's attitude toward corporations is so eminently judicial, and his position in politics has been so fearlessly independent, that he was clearly the ideal candidate to unite those who wished the right of the public to low fares and good accommodations to be as zealously guarded as the rights of the corporations to reasonable interest on the capital actually invested in the roads. When it became known that Dr. Gladden would accept the nomination, the independent and also the Democratic newspapers of the city warmly espoused his candidacy, with the result that his nomination as an independent was secured by petitions containing three times the requisite number of names; and the Democratic primaries gave Dr. Gladden—whose name was not on the ballot—a majority over the two Democrats who demanded the regular party nomination. As a result, Dr. Gladden will be voted for as an independent who has the indorsement of the Democrats, though his name will not appear in the Democratic column, as a partisan statute forbids any candidate's name to appear more than once on the ballot. The fact that Dr. Gladden stands as an independent will avert the danger of identifying a church with a political party, and should secure for him the support of all who welcome the willingness of the finest type of man to enter the service of the city. As the Columbus "Citizen" remarked when Dr. Gladden's candidacy was announced, "His example is one that ought to inspire others. . . . If Dr. Gladden can find time to go into the Council, there is no excuse that will suffice to release any man."

❀

Death of Judge Phelps Ex-Minister Edward J. Phelps, who died in New Haven last week Friday at the age of seventy-eight, was already a lawyer of National eminence and a jurist of ability when he was selected by President Cleveland to represent the United States at the Court of St. James's. Politically he had been a Democrat of the old school for many years at the time of his nomination, and had even held a minor United States Treasury office as early as 1851. The recognized value of his writing on legal topics, as well as his skill in practice, led to his receiving the degree of LL.D. from Middlebury College in 1877, and three years later he was chosen President of the American Bar Association. Judge Phelps's political career was at the beginning somewhat hampered by the well-known fact that a Vermont Democratic candidate is always practically foredoomed to defeat; in 1880 he stood as his party's candidate for Governor, and in 1893 as candidate for United States Senator. In the last Presidential campaign Judge Phelps found himself unable to support the Democratic candidate, and voted for Mr. McKinley; he had since, however, disapproved the conduct of the Republican Administration as regards Cuba and the Philippines, and had been a pronounced anti-expansionist, as he was a pronounced opponent of the scheme for a permanent court of international arbitration. In both respects he represented that type of conservatism which doubts, if it does not dread, all new departures. As Minister to Great Britain Judge Phelps made an enviable record both diplomatically and socially, and his name may be joined with those of Motley, Lowell, Bayard, and Hay, as standing for dignified, courteous, and able American representation in Great Britain. Almost of equal service was Judge Phelps's able conduct of the case of the United States before the court of arbitration on the Behring Sea controversy, in which he was the senior counsel for our Government. As Kent Professor in the Yale Law School Judge Phelps was notable as a clear, incisive, and judicial-minded lecturer.

❀

Lord Pauncefote Although Lord Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington, has received the compliment of having his term of office twice extended, the British Government is apparently more than ever anxious to have him remain at his post. According to official traditions, the time of Lord Pauncefote's retirement is at hand, but the Government has for the third time extended his term of office, which action will be welcomed in both countries. The English Government is particularly desirous of preserving the most cordial relations with the United States, especially in view of the Boer war and of the agitation in many quarters for our intervention; it

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fully appreciates the fact that a statesman whose intimate knowledge of the Venezuelan difficulty is only equaled by his knowledge of another difficulty not yet settled, namely, the Alaskan, is a better person to remain as Ambassador than any new candidate could be; lastly, a Presidential election is not far off, and the British Government, as well as our own, has in mind the subserviency of many politicians to the Irish and German vote, and the unfortunate consequences sometimes precipitated. Lord Pauncefote's retention will be especially acceptable to the United States Government, since, in the century and a quarter of our diplomatic relations with Great Britain, no representative from that country has ever made himself more popular here. It is largely due to his personal action that the two Governments have been brought closer together than at any other period in their history.

❀

The Boer War: The Orange Free State

Last week Lord Roberts gained two decisive victories over the Boers in the Orange Free State. The first was on Wednesday near Osfontein, at that time the British headquarters in the Modder Valley. The Boer line was fifteen miles long and well intrenched. General Kelly-Kenny was ordered to make a huge flanking movement on the Boers' left, following General French's mounted men. The combined movement was admirably executed, and was so successful that the British gained almost a bloodless victory. It was deplorably unsuccessful in checking the Boer retreat, however; the movements of General French's riders were far too rapid for the supporting infantry. The net advance to the east gained by the British headquarters was twelve miles, to a point on the Modder River half-way between Kimberley and Bloemfontein. On Saturday of last week Lord Roberts's army engaged the Boers at Dreifontein, thirty-five miles west of Bloemfontein, and, after a smart fight, forced them from their position. While the British casualties were but a dozen in killed and wounded, the Boers left over a hundred dead on the field, and lost twenty in prisoners. The net advance of the headquarters was ten miles eastward from Dreifontein. Disregard of the usages of civilized war, heretofore charged against the Boers, is officially charged against them by Lord Roberts in the following despatches to Presidents Kruger and Steyn:

> Another instance having occurred of gross abuse of the white flag and of the signal of holding up hands in token of surrender, it is my duty to inform you that if such abuse occurs again I shall most reluctantly be compelled to order my troops to disregard the white flag entirely. The instance occurred on a kopje east of Dreifontein Farm yesterday evening, and was witnessed by several of my own staff officers, as well as by myself, and resulted in the wounding of several of my officers and men. A large quantity of explosive bullets of three different kinds was found in Commandant Cronje's laager, and this has been the case after every engagement with your Honors' troops. Such breaches of the recognized usages of war and of the Geneva Convention are a disgrace to any civilized Power. A copy of this telegram has been sent to my Government with the request that it may be communicated to all neutral Powers.

❀

The Boer War: Natal and Cape Colony

Further to the east, General Buller has already begun his march from Ladysmith towards the Boer camp in the Biggarsberg Mountains, while from Zululand a British force has actually crossed into Transvaal territory and intrenched itself nine miles from the border. The news from Mafeking is disquieting, the garrison having been reduced to great straits owing to lack of food and to the prevalence of typhoid fever. In Cape Colony there has been a Boer rising, and the trouble is serious enough to demand the presence of Lord Kitchener, who is now in the Colony, arranging columns to quell the disturbance. The Boers from across the border have largely retired, and General Brabant has advanced to Aliwal North, and General Clements to Norvals Pont on the Orange River. South of that river, therefore, the country is now in the hands of the British. It is reported that the Boer Presidents are seeking peace on the basis of independence of the Republics and amnesty for rebel colonies. It can hardly have been expected that the British Government would consent to such a settlement, and the following semi-official statement has been issued:

> It is understood that the Government does not consider that the time has yet come for any authoritative statement as to ultimate

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terms of peace, and no member of the Cabinet has authorized any published statement on the subject. It is, of course, generally understood among all political parties in this country that, so far as the South African Republics are concerned, the *status quo ante bellum* cannot remain unaltered after the close of hostilities. Their part in the system which involved a large measure of political and military independence will, of course, be materially modified as a result of the war, but the growing prospects of restored peace must be further advanced before her Majesty's Government can either finally formulate proposed terms of settlement or make any announcement of their plan.

The overtures from the Boer Presidents are really more of an appeal to the Powers than an application to the British Government; the application has apparently not delayed the preparations to send out further reinforcements and supplies from England.

❀

The Boer War: Its Cost

To Great Britain the cost of the Boer war thus far has been, in casualties, nearly fifteen thousand men; in money, according to the opinion of most financial experts, five hundred million dollars. The deficit in British revenue for this year and the next, on account of the war, is estimated by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, at three hundred millions. Based on his estimate, the financial Budget introduced by Sir Michael last week has now been accepted by an overwhelming majority—161 to 26. The Liberals were more enthusiastic supporters of the Chancellor than were his own party associates, as, following the lines of Mr. Gladstone's exchequer policy, he did not make such a point of introducing new duties as of raising existing taxes. In complimenting the Chancellor on the soundness of his principles of taxation, Sir William Harcourt said that while England is being taxed it would be interesting to know how the Government intends to realize on the expectations of such men as Messrs. Rhodes and Beit, who will be putting millions into their pockets as a result of the war. Only a part of the deficit can be met by taxation; the remainder must be met by a loan, the floating of which has been intrusted to the Bank of England. The war loan, or rather what may prove to be its first issue, is for a hundred and fifty million dollars, redeemable at par in ten years. The interest is at 2¾ per cent. Though the Budget increases taxation almost unprecedentedly, the applications from London alone are enough to cover the war loan three times. Offers have also been received from New York to take up the entire issue.

❀

Natal Congregationalists and the Boer War

Concerning the causes of the Boer war, the Congregational Union of the Colony of Natal, South Africa, has sent a particularly interesting memorial to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. As the people of Natal urge, every expression of intelligent Christian conviction bearing upon the great struggle now in progress helps to enlighten public opinion. As Christians, they deplore a war which involves the invasion of their colony, with looting and plundering of hundreds of homes in towns, villages, and farmsteads. The authenticated reports which they hear on this matter from scores of friends who have been ruined are heartrending enough; and yet they believe the conflict to have been inevitable. They claim that it has long been premeditated and prepared for by the Boers, with a view to dominion over the whole of South Africa, and that the plea of fighting for independence was but a blind to hide the real aim of the enormous military preparation of the Republics, which preparations began years before the Jameson raid. They affirm that the Boer idea of government is a military oligarchy, the power being exclusively in Boer hands; while the British ideal is based upon the equality of all white men and the humane treatment of the native races. The memorialists believe that this ideal can be realized only by the complete success of British arms, and that in British administration lies the only hope of uniting the various States of South Africa, and so the only hope of the permanent peace and prosperity of the whole country. For this end large numbers of Natal colonists, many of whom belong to the churches and Sunday-schools of the Union, are now fighting at the front. When the settlement comes, these colonists hold that "there should be no longer two Republics in the heart of South Africa forming a focus of

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intrigue and secret preparation for another trial of strength against British supremacy when Great Britain may have her hands tied in some other part of the world." They deem it of vital importance that government on British lines should be established in every State of South Africa, under one flag, as in Canada and Australia.

❀

Dr. Muller's Rejoinder

Referring to the charge of a Boer conspiracy, Mr. Pierce, Consul-General of the Orange Free State in New York City, has received a letter from Dr. Hendrik Muller, Envoy Extraordinary of the Free State to the Netherlands, in which Dr. Muller says:

I positively deny that there is an atom of truth in the rumors that there was a conspiracy of the Orange Free Staters or Transvaalers, before the war, to drive the British out of South Africa.

Dr. Muller's statements concerning sanitation and education contradict those heretofore reported. He declares that the death-rate in Johannesburg is not greater than that of other South African towns, and is far less than that of other large towns in the world. There is a Sanitary Board in Johannesburg which acts as town council. It is largely subsidized by the Government, and yet it is composed almost exclusively of Outlanders, only the Mayor being appointed by the Governor. As to education, he does not see that the Outlanders have a right to reproach the Transvaal Government on the ground that in some of its elementary schools no English is taught, for there is hardly a country in the world where elementary education is given in another language than in the language of the country. As a matter of fact, however, the Transvaal Government has established State schools in mining districts, where the chief medium of instruction is English. Furthermore, while in most European countries educational demands depend on State examinations, in the South African Republic every one is entitled to free lessons, and to choose whatever kind of education he desires. In the Orange Free State there is compulsory education. Although all the Boers are Protestants of the Dutch Reformed Church, that State gives a yearly subsidy, not only to English churches, but also to Roman Catholic churches. Thus Dr. Muller believes that the Boer Republics do not stand in the way of progress in these departments. As to taxation, he adds that the Transvaal Republic demands smaller taxes than any British colony in Africa; indeed, he claims that its taxes are more moderate than those of any other gold country; they run from two and a half to five per cent. Dr. Muller concludes with the belief that God will not desert two nations who, all told, men, women, and children, do not even equal the population of a small American city, but who have risen as one man to defend their liberty, their birthright, and their Fatherland against the greatest of world-powers.

❀

Queen Victoria

Queen Victoria is prevented by traditions having all the effect of constitutional law from taking any active part in politics, but she has shown herself a wise as well as a brave woman in the present juncture. She has abandoned her annual visit to the Riviera, in order to pay official visits to places in her own dominions; she has already spent three days in London, where she has been received by more enthusiastic demonstrations than were seen even during the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897, and has announced a visit to Ireland for Holy Week. The Queen has further endeared herself to her Irish subjects by commanding that all ranks of her Irish regiments shall wear a sprig of shamrock on St. Patrick's Day. In this connection we may note the peculiar distinction enjoyed by Ireland in the present war in furnishing its most notable commanders, Lords Roberts and Kitchener, Generals White, French, and Kelly-Kenny. It would be happy indeed for Great Britain if the Boer war should become an occasion for reconciling England and Ireland, as the Spanish war became with us an occasion for perfecting the reconciliation between the North and the South. The Queen is wisely doing what she can toward securing such a consummation, and that by a very womanly and tactful method.

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The German Meat Inspection Bill

Last week in the German Reichstag the debate on the Meat Bill defined the differences between Agrarians

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and anti-Agrarians more sharply than ever. The measure is a drastic one, since after the end of 1903 all importation of meat, excepting flitches of bacon and lard, is forbidden. The defenders of the bill declared that within three years Germany would be able to supply all needed meat for the whole nation, and that the present high prices of meat are due, not to the scarcity of cattle, but to the rapacity of the middlemen. The Agrarians also believe, though on inadequate grounds, that the meat imported from the United States to Germany is unhealthful; hence hams, hard and soft sausages, tinned and pickled meats are now to be excluded from importation, while the bill provides that fresh meats must come in whole carcasses or continuous parts. On their side, the anti-Agrarians declare that the bill favors agricultural Germany at the expense of manufacturing Germany, but that, in any event, Germany is at the mercy of the United States, for if she can stop our foodstuffs from going to Germany we can stop her sugar from coming to the United States. The Outlook is not sorry to have the farmers of the United States see what is the effect of the so-called protective system when it is put in operation against our food products by a foreign country. Mr. White, our Ambassador at Berlin, has informed the German Government regarding the effect the proposed law would have on American trade relations, and Germany is fully aware of the danger of a tariff war in case the bill becomes law.

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Trans-Sahara Railways Although the possession of the enormous territory known as the Sahara Desert may please French national vanity, it does not seem likely in the near future to enrich the French national pocketbook. The isolated oases that relieve the aridity of the soil are too few to support any but a nomadic population, and unless modern science can devise some means of artificial irrigation, the French will accomplish little by their efforts at civilization. Yet they continue to push forward their military outposts eastward from the Atlantic and southward from the Mediterranean, and are gradually bringing the tribes of the desert beneath their yoke. The idea of building trans-Sahara railways to chain the military posts together is not new. It was formulated in 1859 by General Hanoteau, whose ambition was to make it possible to travel in "six days from Paris to the tropics," and has since been advocated by many French statesmen. Last July, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," M. Leroy-Beaulieu had an exhaustive paper supporting the scheme. And only a month ago M. Paul Blanchet left Paris at the head of an expedition organized by the "Matin" for the purpose of surveying the proposed railway and of deciding whether it shall run from Algeria south to Timbuktu or southeast to Lake Chad. The length of the first line would be about 1,500 miles, of the second 1,800 miles, and the cost of each is estimated at from forty to fifty million dollars. The "Matin" at present rather prefers the Lake Chad line, because of the probability that it would be less of a financial incubus, for it passes through a part of the desert that is interrupted by more oases, and has its southern terminal in a richer and more populous country. Either line would parallel famous caravan routes, and would dethrone the camel where he has ruled supreme since the dawn of history.

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Decline in Methodism Some time since we pointed out the fact that the great Presbyterian communion was showing a decline in membership and in financial sustenance. Even greater astonishment comes in the discovery that the Methodist Church is now losing in numbers. Bishops Fowler, Ninde, and Joyce have issued an address to the Church calling for a week of prayer, during which daily services are to be held in all Methodist churches throughout America. The address states that statistics for the last year show a decrease in the number of members in the Church, and urges every Methodist to take himself to prayer, and to "call mightily on God for help." We venture to suggest that the decline in numbers in both the Presbyterian and Methodist communions is not altogether due to lack of prayer, but also and even more to a lack of "works." The churches have maintained themselves too much in touch with the classes, and too aloof from

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the masses. This fact has long been recognized by some intelligent church workers, but, unfortunately, their number is not as large as it should be. The Rev. Dr. Curtis, pastor of the Mount Auburn (Presbyterian) Church at Cincinnati, has been fostering interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of street-car employees, by devoting entire church services to their particular benefit. The President of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company gave the employees and their families free transportation to reach the church and their homes. In a notice posted in all the car offices and barns throughout the city motormen and conductors were urged to make arrangements to go to the church and bring their families and friends also.

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Dr. Rainsford's Meetings for Workingmen

Dr. W. S. Rainsford, the rector of St. George's in New York City, has shown that workingmen will come to the church if only the church will come to the workingmen. He has opened this magnificent church to a series of meetings for workingmen which are religious only as anything which promotes justice and good will among men in the name of Christ is religious. They are religious but not ecclesiastical. There is no reading of the Scriptures and no prayer. A negro who is a member of the choir sings two or three solos, and the audience sings a National hymn. But, as Dr. Rainsford promised in his announcement, the meetings are as free from anything sectarian as they are from anything partisan. Their object is to present "to the workingmen of this city the views and suggestions of men whose broad sympathies toward workingmen are well known, and whose lives inspire confidence in the value of their thoughts upon the present condition of labor and capital." This purpose has been attained; for not only have acceptable speakers volunteered their services, but the workingmen have responded, and an audience of six or seven hundred—four-fifths of whom are wage-earning men—has gathered to hear what is said. At the first meeting Professor Herron, of Iowa College, spoke; at the second, Dr. Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio; at the meeting last week, Dr. Lyman Abbott; and the lectures to follow are to be given by Dr. Swallow, of Harrisburg, Pa., the Hon. W. D. Foulke, of Richmond, Ind., and Professor Canfield, of Columbia. Dr. Gladden's lecture, which was on "The Strength and Weakness of Labor Movements To-day," called out an audience in which organized labor was particularly well represented, but Dr. Gladden's criticisms of trades-unions were almost as well received as his statement of the beneficent work they performed. Manual laborers are not used to as much flattery as commercial or even religious organizations, and they are, therefore, perhaps more ready to hear manly criticism from those whose friendship they are sure of. Dr. Gladden's statement that the greatest weakness of labor organizations was the desire of the leaders for political appointments called forth a hearty round of applause. Altogether these meetings at St. George's recall the mediæval period spoken of by Thorold Rogers when the churches were so distinctively public institutions that they were sometimes the shelter for labor exchanges. If the church, like the Sabbath, is made for man, a new consecration is not a desecration.

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The State Conference of Religion

The New York State Conference of Religion, organized last May, as we reported at the time, had made preparations to hold its first meeting about the middle of April in this city. From a desire not to divide the interest felt in the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions in the latter part of the same month, the Executive Committee decided last January to put the Conference of Religion over to the autumn. On account of the Presidential election, the date has been fixed as late as the week before Thanksgiving, when a two days' meeting will be held, November 20–22. The movement is an attempt of men who differ seriously in their religious philosophy, or theology, to get together for some practical interests wherein they are religiously agreed. It is not a Congress or Parliament of Religions for a comparison of opposing views, but a Conference of Religion for the combination of religiously planned efforts toward objects for which all truly religious men are concerned. Nine religious denominations

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are represented in the Executive Committee of the Conference, viz., Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed, Unitarian, Universalist, and Israelite; and it is supported and indorsed by such men as Chancellor McCracken, Chancellor Day, President Hall, President Taylor, Dr. Allen, of Tarrytown, Dr. Josiah Strong, and others whose names are on the list of the General and Executive Committees. The Committee say:

> With a view to the ultimate junction of all religious forces within the State in co-operative effort for those ends of moral and social betterment in which the religious spirit, whatever its outward forms, is agreed, it aims to bring to a common platform and a common endeavor the earnest-minded of all religious denominations.

The nature and scope of this practical interest are indicated by the list of subjects announced for presentation and discussion at the November meeting. A list of these, with the circular of information issued by the Executive Committee, can be had by addressing (with inclosed stamp) the Rev. Leighton Williams, General Secretary, Amity House, 312 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York.

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Changes at Yale Divinity School

The Yale Divinity School recently issued its annual catalogue, in which we note important changes. The original design of Yale College was "to instruct and to train up persons for the work of the ministry." To make this original purpose of the University more effective, divinity students will henceforth be required to undertake post-graduate studies in arts as well as the prescribed courses in theology. In order to bring this about without unduly taxing the strength of the students, the number of lectures in theology at which attendance is required has been reduced to between ten and twelve a week, and the rest of the work required has been made elective. Thus, in the Junior class, the prescribed lectures in theology number about three hundred and fifty hours for the year; the elective lectures, which may be wholly literary, are about ninety in number. In the Middle class the prescribed theological lectures cover about three hundred hours for the year, the elective courses about a hundred and fifty hours. In the Senior class there are the same number of prescribed theological lectures, but only sixty in elective studies. A second reform just instituted has regard to the scholarship system, following out President Hadley's condemnation of granting financial aid to students unless they actually earned the money. In future those students who expect to obtain free bed and board at the Yale School must earn this privilege by accomplishing such practical work as conducting missions and Sunday-school classes, visiting the poor and the hospitals, and preaching sermons. The only exceptions will be in the cases of students who maintain a standing of at least eighty per cent. in their studies. All who wish to see theological education put upon the same plane as any other will welcome the initiation of these reforms.

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The Roman Congregations

The recent letter of Dr. St. George Mivart, himself a Roman Catholic, to the London "Times" on the subject of the supposed political work of the Roman Congregations has called forth much comment, and a review of the different Congregations may not be out of place. At the time of the Inquisition, Paul III. established the Congregation of the Holy Office, consisting of a number of Cardinals, to defend the Church against heresy, and fifty years later Sixtus V. established a number of other Congregations. The principal Congregations are those of the Index, which examines the orthodoxy of books; of the Council, dealing with the interpretations of the decrees of the Council of Trent; of the Propaganda, a missionary body having charge of the propagation of the faith throughout the world; of Studies, supervising education; of the Consistory, providing for the supervision of dioceses; of the Apostolic Visit, ordering episcopal visitations; of Bishops and Regulars, providing for other phases of Church administration; of Ceremonial, settling the order of liturgical observances; of Rites, dealing with questions concerning divine worship, but especially with the canonization of saints; of Indulgences and Relics, providing for pardons, and for the preservation of visible memorials of the faithful. These Congregations in some cases sign decisions in the Pope's name,

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Their reason for being is evident. Like every other great organization, the Roman Church, the most perfectly organized institution in the world, has long been governed by many heads acting together under the Supreme Pontiff. As may be imagined, the details of administration in the Roman Catholic Church are both minute in themselves and enormous in number. There are also continually arising difficult questions which require patient solution. A division of labor is thus indispensable. In general it may be said that the actual work performed by the Congregations is, in a business sense, admirable, and great care is exercised in the choice of the Prefects who preside over the conferences of the Congregations. Cardinal Satolli, well known in this country by reason of his service here as Apostolic Delegate, is the Prefect of the Congregation of Studies. As the domain of this last-named Congregation includes not only education in general, but that of the universities in particular, the nomination of Cardinal Satolli to his present dignity was a peculiarly interesting one to Americans, since the American Catholic University is now being fostered by all the influences which ability and experience can give it.

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Church Federation The movement looking towards a National Federation of Churches which was formed in New York City a month ago has made steady progress. On Monday of this week the Executive Committee organized itself by the choice of officers and subcommittees. The functions of the Committee are: (1) To foster intercommunication between local church federations, with special reference to supplying information in regard to their work in all parts of the country; (2) to provide counsel and to promote the organization of city and State federations; (3) to report a plan for the basis of membership in the National Conference next year; (4) to arrange for that Conference, fixing time, place, and programme; (5) to devise a plan for raising the money necessary to defray the expenses incurred in connection with this work. The clerical delegates on the Executive Committee, so far as announced, are, for the Episcopal Church, Dr. Walpole Warren; the Reformed, the Rev. L. B. Francis; the Baptist, Dr. G. B. Calvert, editor of the "Examiner;" the Congregational, Dr. William Hayes Ward, editor of the "Independent;" the Methodist, Dr. F. M. North, Secretary of the Methodist City Mission; the Lutheran, Dr. G. U. Wenner.

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The Excavation of Ur Dr. E. J. Banks, of 10 Appian Way, Cambridge, Mass., recently United States Consul at Bagdad, is the director of an expedition now being formed to excavate Ur. The work is undertaken for the benefit of the Smithsonian Institution. Ur lies half-way between the ruins of Babylon and the Persian Gulf, and is six miles south of the River Euphrates. We must measure its history by millenniums. Lugal-kigub-nidudu, King of Ur, is probably the earliest monarch mentioned in history. As long before Abraham's time as Abraham was before our time, Ur was a great city. According to the stories in Genesis, Abraham was born there, and so was Sarah; there they spent their youth and were married. At Ur Abraham and his people had their first glimmer of what was to become the Hebrew religion; from there they emigrated to Syria. As the center of the worship of Sin, the Moon-God, the importance of Ur continued for three and a half millenniums, down to the end of the Babylonian Empire. The great temple Gish-shir-gal, the home of Sin, is the best preserved of any of the specimens of Babylonian architecture still standing. Half a century ago, Mr. Taylor, a British Consul, made some excavations, resulting in the discovery of the inscriptions of King Nabonidus, which speak of the Crown Prince, the Belshazzar of the Bible, whom scholars of Mr. Taylor's day regarded as a mythical character. The work thus begun, but afterwards strangely abandoned, should now be renewed, not only for its own sake, but also because the people of Nasaria (the most modern town in Babylonia, and but half an hour away) are beginning to dig bricks from the ruins, destroying the tablets and defacing the inscriptions which they uncover. The facilities of Nasaria will enable excavators to dispense with the discomforts of camp life in the desert, while the excava-

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tions accomplished by Mr. Taylor, together with his accurate drawings, will enable a new expedition to reach results with a great saving of time and expense. The present appearance of Ur is that of three stories of an ancient temple rising seventy feet above the plain; surrounding the temple is a group of mounds half a mile in diameter, the ruins of a city which in the earliest chapters of the Bible is called "Ur of the Chaldees." The estimated amount required for the complete excavation of Ur in two years is fifty thousand dollars. An appeal for funds is made to all interested in Bible study, in history, or in archæology, or who desire to see the remains of Ur among the treasures of our National Museum.

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The Chinese "Boxers" During the past winter, in the Chinese province of Shantung, which has now been invaded by Germany, there has been a rather serious condition of affairs. The American Methodist and Presbyterian Missions have reported that their village stations and even their city stations have been threatened by armed bands of "Boxers," or, to give them their other name, the "Great Sword Society." These men have suddenly become dangerous to the community at large, and it is somewhat difficult to find out the motive which actuates them. It is believed, however, by some that a principal cause of their enmity towards Christians in general is to be found in the somewhat too aggressive course of some missionaries, especially in the Roman Catholic missions. Of course the Chinese make little distinction between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and vent their ire on all Christians alike. They are obstinate in resisting any endeavors at pacification since they have not forgotten how the revolutionists of two and a half years ago escaped justice, imperial proclamations notwithstanding. The spirit rather than the letter of these proclamations is entirely evident to them; and hence they inscribe on their banners, "Let us protect the dynasty and exterminate foreigners." Much lawlessness has existed in consequence, and serious outrages have occurred. Further to complicate affairs, the heavy rains have injured the crops everywhere in the province, while the overflow of the Yellow River has destroyed them entirely in thirty counties.

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The Privileges of Servants The latest bulletin of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics deals with social conditions in domestic service, and contains the statistics collected from over 200 families by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. Nearly all the servants in these families receive from $3.50 to $4.50 a week, which indicates that the families belong to the well-to-do class in the neighborhood of a large city. Two-thirds of the servants are reported to have accounts in the savings banks, and three-fourths of them to be helping in the support of some one else. Unfortunately, there was no inquiry as to the hours which these servants are expected to be at call, so that the statement that their wages are better than those of women clerks is open to serious question. The most interesting returns related to social and educational privileges. In answer to the question, "Would the servant be allowed access to the library of the employer?" 144 persons replied "Yes," 34 "No," 6 returned the answer "Possibly," and 13, "Not without restriction." Those who answered "Not without restriction" may have referred to the hours in which reading should be permitted, or the condition in which the books should be kept; but the 34 who replied that access to the family library would not be permitted seem to illustrate the truth that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is not always applied so as to embrace the sisterhood of women. It would be interesting to know how many of the servants would value access to the books in the library, or make any use of them if the use were offered. As to musical privileges, the report was more encouraging, for 15 persons replied that the servants were permitted to play upon a musical instrument in the house, and this is a privilege which many of us grant very begrudgingly to our own brothers and sisters. In answer to the question, "Is the servant permitted to entertain visitors?" four families out of five replied with an unqualified "Yes;" but half of the families report that their servants had no men callers, and a fourth

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of them replied that their servants had neither men nor women callers. One family allowed the servant to receive her company in the parlor. "A few" permitted the use of the dining-room or sewing-room, but in all the remainder the servant received her men callers in the kitchen or laundry. The unavoidable conclusion reached in the report is that the domestic servant in the United States has ceased to be a servant as that term was formerly used, but has not gained the independence of an employee in a store or factory.

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The Workingmen's Lincoln Dinner

The Workingmen's Committee of One Hundred, which organized the Jefferson dinner a year ago, last week gave a similar dinner in commemoration of Lincoln. Ernest H. Crosby, the presiding officer, called attention to the fact that business men of almost every class express their sense of solidarity by means of annual dinners, and stated his own belief that workingmen have equal reason to express and foster their community of interests in the same way. The character of the speeches made and the reception accorded to various speakers by the five hundred trades-unionists present indicated that organized labor has a well-defined political creed. In National politics the sentiment of the audience was decidedly opposed to President McKinley. The declaration of the chairman that "people who are willing to die for freedom are entitled to live in freedom" was received with cheers, and utterances condemning our war in the Philippines seemed to call forth more enthusiasm than those condemning England's war in South Africa. But in local politics there seemed to be no party bias in any direction. The speakers who received the warmest reception were Mayor S. M. Jones, the nonpartisan administrator of Toledo, Ohio; and Comptroller Coler, of this city, who is now making war upon the regular Democratic machine. The most significant scene of the evening was the ovation given to Comptroller Coler. This official, whose service in exposing the Ramapo water contract and in pushing forward the municipal construction of the Rapid Transit system we have often referred to, is now engaged in protecting the city treasury against the claims of contractors and merchants who have conspired with city officials to charge more than the market price when serving the city. In some of the claims which he is opposing workingmen are interested, and at one or two tables the Comptroller was greeted with hisses, but these hisses merely awakened the great body of the audience to show their appreciation of his manliness in the municipal service, and the demonstration accorded to the Comptroller seemed to prove that, if he continued his fight with the controlling forces in his organization, the popular support he would receive could compel his nomination and election as Mayor of New York. There is nothing that people like so much as courage, and should Comptroller Coler be named for Governor this fall, his courage in fighting Tammany would arouse as much enthusiasm among Democrats as Governor Roosevelt's bravery in the war with Spain aroused in the last election among Republicans.

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Preserve the Beautiful

"We must make haste if we are to preserve for posterity the *exceptional* in nature as we now possess it," writes Mr. Edward T. Potter, a prominent member of the American Social Science Association. In popular discussion of "the preservation of nature" an exclusive emphasis is usually laid on what is fine or beautiful, as in the case of Niagara Falls or the Palisades on the Hudson. Although not infrequently the natural objects which it is sought to preserve are both beautiful and exceptional, the former is always first in popular thought. This is true of the "Calaveras Big Tree Grove," as it is called in California, which, though a lumberman has secured an option upon it, may yet be saved by National purchase for a Government park, through a joint resolution of Congress; and such a resolution has already passed one House. The menaced destruction of gulls and terns is another illustration—a destruction by no means distant, for it is reported in the Boston "Transcript" that "feather-dealers state that the demand for their skins far exceeds the supply." Æsthetically, as all who have been at sea

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appreciate, gulls add an exquisite touch to "ocean grandeur that would be so grim without them." To think, adds the "Transcript," that "two years' fashion of milliners can rob all posterity of so high a joy!" Yet so practical is our modern world that the "Transcript" puts the stress of argument for preserving gulls upon neither their æsthetic nor their exceptional place in nature, but upon their "incalculable service" as scavengers. Assembled in amazing numbers off every large port to devour the garbage daily emptied into the ocean—the New York flock is estimated to reach 100,000—they "must save the adjacent beaches from an immeasurable amount of putrefying matter." Quite apart from beauty or utility, the impossibility of replacing what is destroyed constitutes, in Mr. Potter's view, a sufficient reason for preservation. "Rare insects," Mr. Potter writes, "and whatever is rare (and because it is rare), are being pursued, captured, killed, and sold, and the race exterminated. The 'loss to science is incalculable.'" As destructiveness in large part springs from mere thoughtlessness, the obvious remedy is to impress upon children the value of man's heritage in nature. A generation thus trained, says Mr. Potter, "would not be inclined to destroy recklessly anything rare and unreplaceable, whether beautiful or wonderful or merely interesting." Defacement or destruction of that which cannot be replaced is a form of carelessness or brutality as regrettable as it is, unhappily, widespread.

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Taxing Puerto Rico

Last week we said that we had seen no adequate evidence that the President had changed his mind since his message of last December recommending free trade between America and Puerto Rico. We can say so no longer. Mr. Bromwell, of Ohio, Mr. Powers, of Vermont, Mr. Watson, of Indiana, and Mr. Sperry, of Connecticut, all members of the House of Representatives, are all reported as saying that the President urged them to vote for the measure levying a tariff of fifteen per cent. on all exports from and on all imports into Puerto Rico. In such a time as this the people need and desire a leader; one who has time and opportunity to study the specific questions involved in our new National policy, and one in whose judgment and courage they can trust. The President is the natural leader of those who believe in expansion and do not believe in imperialism—that is, who believe in extending the American flag, with all which it involves, over Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and who believe that it involves government for the benefit of the governed now, and eventually self-government.

But the people cannot follow a President who does not lead; and they cannot escape the impression that he is himself following some one else. He at first, in a public message, urged free trade with Puerto Rico; he now, in private interviews, urges a tariff between us and Puerto Rico. Why? This is the question which the people are asking, which the President's best friends and warmest supporters are asking, and to which he ought to give an answer as public and as authoritative as his original message. We do not accuse him of saying one thing in public and another in private for political effect; we do not suspect him of this; we believe in his integrity; but he is suspected of this by others, and his friends cannot deny that his course has given some ground for such suspicion. Meanwhile his friends and supporters, who were satisfied by the reasons given for his first and public counsel, cannot be satisfied by his reasons for his second and private counsels, for he gives no reasons—that is, to the public. They cannot follow a leader blindly, and therefore they endeavor to construct for themselves his reason for this unexplained change. What is it?

The reason cannot well be the necessity of Puerto Rico for an income; for the President knew that necessity last December as well as he knows it now; he has shown by his emergency message that the immediate needs can be otherwise provided for; and the House has made the necessary appropriation, which only waits confirmation by the Senate. The reason cannot be new light on the desires of the Puerto Ricans, for they have affirmed, through such representation as they possess, that they prefer to borrow the money and repay it out of local taxation than see a tariff wall erected between their

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island and America. The reason cannot be a desire to raise an issue which can be presented to the Supreme Court for its decision on the constitutional relations of Puerto Rico to America, for a tax of one per cent. on one import would have sufficed for that purpose. The reason cannot be to protect the Puerto Ricans from America's competition, for the Puerto Ricans beg us not to protect them. No wonder, then, that the President's friends and supporters are reluctantly coming to the conclusion that he has yielded partly to a demand by tobacco-growers, sugar-growers, and fruit-growers for protection against Puerto Rican competition, and partly to the dread of protected industries, not directly affected, lest, if protection be abandoned at one point, it will presently be abandoned at all points.

This is not a question for compromise. If it be true that the President has not changed his mind but only his policy, and has reluctantly become an advocate of a fifteen per cent. tariff in order to unite his party, he has made a most serious political mistake. Questions of method are always subjects of compromise; questions of principle are not. The question how an income can best be raised for Puerto Rico is a question of method, and in that compromise is legitimate. The question whether Puerto Rico is to be governed for her benefit or for ours, until the time when she shall be a self-governing community, is a question of principle, as truly involved in a fifteen per cent. tariff levied against her interests and supposedly in ours, as if it were a tariff of twenty-five or fifty per cent. It is the widespread and growing suspicion that this tariff is levied, not in the interests of Puerto Rico, but in the interests of the United States, which is arousing the conscience of the American people against the Puerto Rican tariff. That suspicion is fast becoming a conviction; two weeks ago it might perhaps have been allayed; every day widens and deepens it; and if the Senate passes the bill as it comes from the House, and the President signs it, though he may succeed in uniting the party representatives in Congress, he will find himself entering into the Presidential election with a divided party which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to unite.

Americans are expansionists but they are not imperialists. They believe in the expansion of American principles and the American spirit, but they do not believe in abandoning American principles and the American spirit for the sake of extending American sovereignty and American commerce. If they cannot have expansion of American territory without the abandonment of American principles, they will have no expansion of American territory. By his change of policy, unaccompanied by any public statement of his reasons, on a question which, though not financially of great importance, rightly seems to the American people fundamental in principle, the President has subjected himself to the suspicion of compromising those principles of justice and liberty which are far dearer to the people than any conceivable trade advantages. It is not too late for the Senate to retrieve his error; but if it is not retrieved, if by the action of the Senate the Republican party, despite the protests of some of its strongest men and nearly all its strongest journals, commits itself to a policy of levying taxation for our apparent benefit against the protests of an unrepresented dependency, the possible consequences to the party it is not easy to forecast. The strength of the President has consisted in this, that he has represented the conscience and judgment of the American people. If he allows himself to be separated from the people, though on but a single issue, his strength would depart from him as it did from Antæus when Hercules lifted him from the earth.

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The New England Type

When Oliver Wendell Holmes went, old Boston went with him; he was the genius of that distinct and distinguished type of man whose intellectual alertness and high-bred integrity have already become a tradition in American society. Boston will always be what it has been so long, a center of intellectual and scholarly activity; the home of a traditional culture and a charming hospitality, with more than its complement of accomplished and witty men and women; but old Boston has gone as certainly as old New York and old Philadelphia have gone. And when Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson goes, old

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New England will go with him; for he is, in a very complete way, not only its typical man, but its faithful and charming recorder. No other living man knows its old traditions more thoroughly, has been in closer contact with its writers of light and leading and its ardent reformers, and no one has, fortunately, a more delightful gift of writing recent history in the form of biography and in the spirit of literature.

Colonel Higginson belongs to the type which he has so admirably commemorated. He is a New Englander in every fiber; of a lineage distinguished in every generation for force of character, dignity of manners, and charm of mind; a man of culture in the old-fashioned sense of the word; with academic training, and living nearly all his life in an academic atmosphere; with an innate love for the best in life and literature, and an innate chivalry towards women; a born reformer, with the courage of his convictions; a thoroughgoing lover of his country, but with the New England capacity for making love of country the opportunity for the freest and sharpest criticism; a man of letters who has been at once industrious, dignified, independent, and successful.

Colonel Higginson has shared the idealism which has been, perhaps, the finest gift of New England to the Nation; but he has never been a mystic, as were many of his earlier contemporaries. His work for reforms has been along practical lines; his distinctive characteristics, lucidity in thought and style, the faculty of seeing distinctly a real and tangible goal, and seeking it with unhesitating and single-minded endeavor. His early volume, "Atlantic Essays," came at an opportune time for young men who were under the spell of Carlyle and Emerson—each the master of a striking style, fatally attractive to young writers of sensitive imaginations. Colonel Higginson's admirable simplicity and lucidity were sanative qualities, and the volume ought to be put in the hands of young writers as a text-book.

In public speaking Colonel Higginson has mastered a kindred style: a manner at once charming and unassuming; voice, bearing, and language happily harmonized in a natural, conversational, and persuasive tone; the bearing and the utterance of a cultivated gentleman, to whom the art of speaking is fine in the degree in which it is separated from mannerisms, artificial emotion, or exaggerated speech.

The New England type, like every other type, has its limitations of sympathy, insight, and power; limitations which have been of late years somewhat unduly emphasized. The Nation is growing rapidly, not only in numbers and wealth, but in the consciousness of its unity; and in its reaction from the dominance of the two most influential types of the past—the New England and the Southern type—it has sometimes done scant justice to the men who shaped its earlier policies and gave direction and impulse to its spiritual life. Such a book as Colonel Higginson's "Contemporaries," which bears the imprint of Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., is a valuable foot-note to the history of the last half-century on this continent, besides being a very delightful piece of literature. Of its nineteen chapters fifteen are devoted to men and women of New England birth and breeding; to such representative persons as Emerson, Parker, Whittier, Garrison, Phillips, Mrs. Child, and Sumner. It is impossible to study this group of portraitures without being impressed with certain typical qualities which, in spite of wide differences of natural gift, temper, and moral interests, are shared by the whole group.

They were all idealists, although they sought their ideals in quarters which were often widely separated, and by methods as different as those of Emerson, Parker, and Phillips. No man's vision was bounded by what he saw; there was always something beyond the evident and actual order; and no man doubted his ability to approach if not to reach his ideal. The keynote of this quality in the New Englander of fifty years ago was struck very early and very distinctly by Emerson: "He who doubts whether this age or this country can yield any contribution to the literature of the world only betrays his blindness to the necessities of the human soul. . . . What shall hinder the Genius of the Time from speaking its thought? It cannot be silent if it would. It will write in a higher spirit and a wider knowledge, and with a grander practical aim, than ever yet guided the pen of poet; and that which was ecstasy shall become daily bread." The belief that ecstasy can be made into bread has given New Eng-

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land her long line of poets, reformers, and preachers; it has also slightly unbalanced some minds less securely poised than Emerson's and Hawthorne's.

To this idealism the ethical response has been singularly prompt and loyal. Indeed, the roots of his idealism are in the moral nature, and it has had such fire and force because so many generations of religious devotion were behind it. The true New Englander, unless the later reaction has set in, is a reformer by instinct. It is impossible for him to let things alone; if things are in a bad way, they must be made right; if they are in a good way, they must be made better; under any circumstances some things must be changed. The fruits of this temper are to be seen in the history of the Nation; and, in its newest form, this same temper is reproduced in many parts of the West; especially in Kansas, a State often misunderstood. The fruits of this temper are also to be seen in a great deal of that peculiar form of eccentricity of which New England is the home. Colonel Higginson is not blind to this side of New England life; on the contrary, he finds great entertainment in it. "Oh, why," said an exhausted American wife to her husband, a moderate reformer, "why do the insane so cling to you?" Nothing showed Emerson's balance so clearly as his ability to keep himself free from the insane who gravitated towards him with alarming regularity. The lack of perspective which distinguishes many sincere but injudicious reformers is clearly evident in the following resolution offered at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1842: "Resolved, That the sectarian organizations called churches are combinations of thieves, robbers, adulterers, pirates, and murderers, and as such form the bulwarks of American slavery." It is not difficult to discover the genesis of that kind of "crankism" in New England which Miss Wilkins has drawn with such searching skill.

And then there is the New England wit; a quality of wit which is the distinctive product of the keen, alert, highly trained New England mind. Those who have reason to know are persuaded that more clever things are said in Boston within a given period of time than in any other city in the world. Paris may say things with more social insight and feeling for beauty of phrase, but Boston is quicker, keener, more deft. The stores of traditional wit to be found within a comfortable radius from the State House are almost inexhaustible; and the city of to-day lives well up to its old-time standards. Such wits as Dr. Holmes, Mr. Appleton, and Mr. Aldrich are not isolated figures; they are representative of a host of men and women who seem to have inherited the gift of wit from an ancestry trained in this delightful art. The seriousness of early New England has been tempered these many years by a great love for the lighter play of the mind, and charming skill in drawing upon its happier resources. Colonel Higginson celebrates this quality in his delightful chapter on John Holmes, the unknown but gifted brother of the Autocrat. And how much he might have said of his old neighbor, Lowell, whose mind was a joy to his friends as it had been an inspiration to the country! If Boston occasionally reveals a self-complacency which shocks the modest New Yorker and offends the shy Philadelphian, there is some justification for satisfaction in her history.

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A Lenten Thought

Much of the expression of the religious life of two hundred years ago, especially among the Puritans, seems to readers of to-day forced and extravagant. This is especially true of confessions of sin. The consciousness of sin was so over-emphasized and thrown out of relation to the other truths of religious life that it became in many instances morbid, and its expression extravagant to the last degree. It is very difficult for a well-balanced religious man of to-day to put himself into the mood which found appeasement in such exaggeration. That the religious life of to-day is saner, better-balanced, and therefore more wholesome, is hardly to be questioned; but there are losses as well as gains, and the restoration of a true perspective among the great truths of religious experience, which has thrown the fact of sin into its normal place, has in some cases weakened the sense of sin and blunted the individual conscience. It does not follow that a man is free from sin because his conscience is at rest;

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there are, on the contrary, a great many men who are at rest simply because their consciences are untrained and lacking in sensitiveness. The quality of an artist is largely determinable by his lack of satisfaction with his own work. When a man is perfectly contented with what he has done, he is in danger of degeneration and decline. The growing man is always keenly sensitive to his own limitations and defects; the greatest piece of work which he can achieve seems to him at the best only a faint reproduction of that which lay in the vision of his imagination. In like manner, and for a similar reason, the man who is satisfied with his character and his conduct is always in danger; there can be no such thing as self-complacency in the spiritual life. When one is self-complacent in regard to his spiritual achievements, it means that his standard is low; when his life is most intense and his activity most fruitful, his recognition of the distance between his ideal and his attainment is keenest.

The real character of sin, not as mere imperfection or low stage of development, but as a violation of the divine order of life and the divine nature of man, is shown in its tendency to dull the sensibilities and dim the moral vision. The further a man goes in the direction of violating the laws of life, the more difficult does he make his return, because he is constantly losing spiritual consciousness; he is becoming more and more benumbed, like a man who is freezing to death. If the Lenten season did nothing but remind us that sin has not gone out of the world because men say less about it, and that it is not less dangerous because its expression is more guarded and reserved, it would still render the greatest possible service; for nothing is more dangerous than that easy self-delusion which lulls a man to sleep while he is parting, one by one, with his best possessions, selling his soul by bits for returns which are worth neither the counting nor the keeping. It is a happy thing for a man of reputation who has fallen into evil ways when he is detected, exposed, and punished; there is then a possibility that he may turn; what seems to him his worst calamity may become his good fortune. It is fortunate for a man who is complacent and satisfied when something stings him with a sense of imperfection, and fills him with intense dissatisfaction. This is what the Lenten season ought to do for us all.

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The Spectator

The Spectator has just learned of the destruction by fire of his old Paris friend, the Théâtre Français. He says "his old friend" because the burning of this historic building is not only a municipal, national, and world loss, but, to the Spectator, it is a personal loss. When the Spectator has been in Paris (and he is thankful to say that those occasions have not been few in number), he has always turned towards the Théâtre Français as soon as he could after reaching his hotel, and engaged his ticket for the evening; indeed, he has more than once telegraphed for that ticket when yet a long way off from Paris. Once going to the Théâtre Français is like the one lie which the bad boy speaks; it leads to many others. If you once start on that path, you cannot leave off. The Spectator gave up trying to leave off after the first night, and he has generally grudged the evening spent in Paris which had to be outside the walls of the "House of Molière."

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Molière's company came to Paris two and a half centuries ago. Before that, however (though the Comédie Française claims Molière as its founder), during the reign of Henry IV., a company of comedians had established themselves in a theater which was afterwards occupied by Molière's company. In 1680 Louis XIV. ordered the amalgamation of this company with another under the title of "La Comédie Française," and, in a proclamation which up to the time of the fire was jealously preserved, and, the Spectator hopes, may have escaped destruction, declared "a monopoly in favor of the new theater in order to render the representations of the comedians more perfect." Whatever faults Louis XIV. may have had, the Spectator is among those who acclaim him as a great centralizer of art, if not of political empire.

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This historic company of players called the Comédie Française has not always

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had the Théâtre Français as its home; it has had a number of homes, finally taking possession of the theater now known as the Odéon. In the last year of the last century the Comédie Française moved across the river to the building just destroyed. That building had therefore fulfilled a hundred years of existence. It has been a glorious century of development in the domain of the drama.

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Fire-trap as it was, the Spectator loved the Théâtre Français. There are many modern theaters with more comfortable entrances and exits, and certainly with far more comfortable plush seats, but who that loves history and literature would not endure the discomfort of the old Théâtre Français if for no other purpose than to be surrounded by an environment of tradition and worth such as no other theater ever had? Who would not be cramped up in the little *guichet*, or ticket office; who would not even stand in the long waiting *queue*, that line of intending theater-goers, unpleasantly disposed because of foreseen disappointment in being placed; who would not put up with the fussy old woman in a pink head-dress from whom one finally gets a check for his coat; who would not even settle down in a rather hard and cramped seat, if, having long studied and loved French literature in general and French drama in particular, he can see that literature portrayed on the boards of the first theater in the world by the first actors in the world? So the Spectator has always been unwontedly patient in squeezing in at the narrow door into a crypt-like place, enlivened only by a lot of lackeys with their chains of office; in passing in his ticket and awaiting the expected "Au premier à droite" (first floor to the right) from one of the three *contrôleurs*, or examiners, before being allowed to proceed. Then the Spectator would go past those noble statues of Talma and Rachel up the stairs to the cloak corridor, and then into the auditorium and to his accustomed seat.

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If obtainable, and it generally was obtainable, the Spectator's seat was always to the extreme of one side of the house, close to a door from which he had no draught, but out of which he could escape easily in case of fire. The Spectator has always been nervous about fires, especially in theaters, but most particularly in such a theater as the Théâtre Français, where a conflagration would have a good chance. At the close of the performance there would descend an iron curtain impressively enough, and you could go upstairs and see the water in pails ready to be poured out; but somehow there was a prophecy of the slowness of the fire-enginery (alas! now only too well fulfilled) in the way conflagrations were attended to in other parts of Paris. So the Spectator liked to settle down as near a door as possible. Another reason for such a seat was that the wall was on one side of him, and the wall was often a more sympathetic companion than some of the people who came to the theater. When the late King of Bavaria ordered a particular Wagner performance, he had the entire theater to himself; the performance began at midnight and ended at three A.M. The King wanted art, he wanted to enjoy it to the full, and he thought the only way to enjoy it to the full was to enjoy it alone. He was partly right, too. A third reason for securing such a seat was its nearness to the stage. There were only a few of those seats on the side of the aisle—four or five between the side door and the stage. All the rest of the seats on the main floor were in the body of the house. The auditorium was not a large one; it seated perhaps fifteen hundred people. As the Spectator is no Frenchman, it was a capital aid to him in pronouncing French to be so close to those who were leaders in that pronunciation. The Comédie Française is no ordinary theater-company; it is a great school. Frenchmen as well as foreigners go to it to learn how to pronounce the French language. The Spectator still hears the *régisseur's* three deliberate taps of his staff on the stage floor, followed by the cease of conversation throughout the auditorium.

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The curtain rises—the play is Molière's "Tartufe." The theater seems for the moment populated with the kindly specters, not only of that great master of comedy, but also of other playwrights who have acquired fame by means of the

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Comédie Française: of La Fontaine, who during the first ten years of the theater's history was one of its most favored writers; of Regnard, who made his début there with a little play, "La Sérénade;" of Rousseau, who wrote a farce for the theater, "Le Café;" of Lesage, who wrote a comedy; of Voltaire, who wrote his great tragedy "Œdipe;" of Diderot and Beaumarchais, and then, in this century, of Scribe, Victor Hugo, Dumas, Augier, and Pailleron—especially of the last three. In their delineation of society, the "Étrangère" of the first, the "Gendre of M. Poirier" of the second, and the "Monde où l'on s'ennuie" of the third, have put past and present actors and actresses into what yet may be classic rôles.

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Between the acts the Spectator would repair to the famous *foyer*, where during the *entr'acte* the people walk up and down and exchange small talk. That *foyer* was worth visiting at any time, night or day, if for nothing more than to see Houdon s masterpiece, the statue of Voltaire. There was also a good sitting statue of George Sand, by Clesinger. Long rows of busts lined the walls of the *foyer*. Among them especially to be noticed was the bust of Rousseau by Caffieri, and of Dumas the younger by Carpeaux. The ornamentation of the beautiful room was both delicate and dignified. The Spectator remembers the subscription nights, when he might be with some French friend who was an *abonné* (subscriber). The Spectator then could enjoy the privilege of going with him behind the scenes and into the greenroom. If the Théâtre Français excelled every theater in the world in excellence of performance, its building also excelled every theater in the surprising gorgeousness of its greenroom and its dressing-rooms. M. Augier was accustomed to call the greenroom the most delightful parlor in Paris; it was large and luxurious, and was adorned with valuable works of art; but no picture on the walls was so valuable as the contents of the little frame—the unique autograph signature of Molière. The dressing-rooms were no less luxurious. That of M. Mounet-Sully, for instance, looked like a painter's studio, with its antique arms, chests, tapestries, bric-à-brac. That of M. Worms was full of sumptuous sofas and easy chairs. That of M. Coquelin Cadet was papered with caricatures of himself by M. Forain. That of M. le Bargy formed a contrast, being in purest English style with Wedgwood medallions. That of Mademoiselle Reichemberg was entirely done in chintz. That of Mademoiselle Bartet was a Louis XV. gem; on the walls were water-colors and engravings of the eighteenth century, and fans painted by Watteau. From the dressing-rooms the Spectator's friend and he mounted to the top of the house, where, strangely and insecurely, the precious archives and library were stored away. When the Spectator saw it, the Theâtre Français housed the finest existing collection of books on the drama.

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One of the Spectator's French friends happened to be a playwright. He was at once in a pleased and in a sorry mood: pleased that his play had at last been accepted by the *Comité de Lecture*—the reading committee, consisting of twelve members of the Comédie; sorry because there must needs be a delay of years before the piece could be produced. So great is the success of the plays now on the boards that not until after several hundred representations of the most successful ones do the box-office receipts show any decline.

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The Comédie Française consists of twenty-four members called *sociétaires*, but twenty-four does not limit the company which appears on the stage of the Théâtre Français: there are thirty-three others, and they are called *pensionnaires*, or persons who are paid fixed salaries. The *sociétaires* participate in the profits of the company. If a vacancy occurs in the list of *sociétaires*, it is filled from the *pensionnaires*. When a player has been twenty years a *sociétaire*, he has a right to a pension of a thousand dollars a year. M. Claretie is the present Administrator. He must fulfill the functions of the State in protecting the players; and, on the other hand, he must see that the players give its money's worth to the State. The House of Molière has thus become adopted into the body politic and artistic of the French nation.

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British Public Opinion and the Boers

By Edward Porritt

AT the outset it has to be conceded that the great majority of the English people are in favor of the war. I have come to this conclusion from my reading, not only of the London and provincial daily newspapers, but also from that of some of the provincial weekly and bi-weekly journals, which are good indications of public feeling in towns not large enough to maintain daily newspapers. Moreover, and almost as important as indications of public opinion, the letters I am receiving from England mostly express sentiments in favor of the war. Whether the war be right or wrong, it will have to be recorded that, up to the surrender of Cronje and the relief of Ladysmith, the majority of the people of England were in favor of it. I am not. I have regarded it as brought about by the diplomacy of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner, and have felt that had a diplomat like Lord Pauncefote or the Earl of Dufferin been in charge of the African end of the negotiations with President Kruger, and had the Downing Street end been directly in the hands of Lord Salisbury, there would have been no war. This feeling on my part does not, however, lead me to overlook facts; nor will I permit it, if I can help it, to influence me in describing the situation as it now exists in England.

Granting, then, that the majority of the people of England support the war and hold it to be just, it remains to be pointed out that the people who take this general position do so from varying reasons. In England, as in other countries, and especially in the great cities, there is a large and thoughtless class which can always be counted upon to hurrah for war anywhere and for any reason. But this class, although a large one, can at once be put aside in any analysis of public opinion as to the war. Those who support the war, and are ready with reasons for their support, can be roughly divided into three groups. In the first are people who have always regretted the settlement of 1881, and who insist that when once the Transvaal had come under the British flag it should have been held there, no matter at what cost, or under what conditions annexation was brought about. The people who hold this view are usually those who also hold that Great Britain must be dominant in South Africa, and who look for a great confederation of the British South African colonies on the Canadian model. These are the Imperialists, who would have the British Government always alert to seize more territory, and to go to war if necessary to extend British dominion.

To my mind the largest of the groups, and the group to which Mr. John Morley, Sir Edward Clarke, and Mr. Courtney, and the few Liberal newspapers which take the stand of the "Speaker" and the Manchester "Guardian," make their appeals in vain, is that which takes the ground that the Boers brought on the war, not only by their attitude toward Englishmen in the Transvaal, but by the unneighborly bearing shown toward Great Britain since the independence of the Transvaal was recognized by Gladstone.

Most of my correspondents who support the war, and hold that it is just, fall into this group; and I cannot better express their position than by quoting a letter which I received just before sitting down to write this article. It was in reply to one of mine in which I had attributed the war to Colonial Office diplomacy. "I am sorry," writes my correspondent, "that you hold the view that you do in regard to the war. But when I see a people, in a measure under British rule, so depart from the usages and practices of British administration as to deny the same rights, privileges, and liberties that are afforded their nationality in an adjoining British colony, virtually governed by their race, I do not require any deep research to be convinced who is in the wrong." And here comes an expression of the feeling as to Boer unneighborliness, to which I have referred as one of the grounds on which people in the second group support the war and argue that the British cause is just. "Moreover," continues my correspondent, "writers living in the midst of the Boers, Americans as well as English,

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have frequently stated that the Boer hatred of England is bred in them to an extent that governs their political actions towards Great Britain, and proves to my mind conclusively that the Boer Government has had for its purpose for many years the creation of disaffection among the Boers through South Africa, especially in the British portions, hoping thereby to build up a Dutch Confederacy out of British colonies."

It is the group holding these opinions which would have supported war on the Transvaal Republic, even had there been no Boer ultimatum, and had the Boers never sent a commando outside their own borders. Had the negotiations for the franchise been further continued, and had President Kruger refused to make adequate concessions, people holding these opinions would have supported the sending of an army corps to Pretoria to bring the Boers to terms and to make an end of the Republic. "Mr. Chamberlain may have been at fault," adds the correspondent from whose letter I am quoting, "though I fail to see it after reading his despatches." This generally is the attitude of people in this group towards the Colonial Secretary. They hold that he was working in a good cause. Further, they contend that he had to deal with a statesman of world-wide reputation for his doggedness and stubbornness. They contend, too, that if in the Chamberlain-Milner despatches there was less smooth, diplomatic language than is customary between powers engaged in negotiations, and more tartness and threat in Mr. Chamberlain's memorable Highbury speech than would have been applied in relation to a larger power than the Transvaal, that these are all details which had little effect in the outcome. The Government strength in the constituencies lies here; and the more sober newspapers, Liberal as well as Conservative, which heartily support the Government, but have not wholly gone over to Jingo Imperialism, have, it seems to me, to be placed in this second group.

The position of the third group can be summed up in a very few words. The group owes its existence to President Kruger's ultimatum and the Boer invasion of Natal. Thousands of people who could not make up their minds whether the war was right or wrong promptly ranged themselves on the side of the war and its justice when President Kruger issued his ultimatum. These people overlook or ignore Sir Alfred Milner's despatches of last summer, and Mr. Chamberlain's Highbury speech, all features of the new Birmingham diplomacy which have so provoked the opponents of Mr. Chamberlain's policy; and in the space of twenty-four hours the Government had a support in the country that it could not have counted upon had war been made on the Transvaal solely for the franchise. Kruger's ultimatum was of value to the Government far outside England. More than anything else, it brought the Colonies into line. It united the Laurier Cabinet on the war, and bore down the opposition of the French-Canadians to the sending of Canadian contingents and to the drafts on the Dominion Treasury to meet the cost of Canada's new participation in British military expeditions. Hitherto Canadian statesmen of both political parties, and none more so than the leaders of the Conservative party, had declared their opposition to Canada being drawn into British wars, and had insisted that Canada had contributed its full quota to Imperial defense by building the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific Railways, and affording to British troops an all-Canadian route across the continent to the Far East. The Boer invasion of Natal has undoubtedly added to the difficulty and the cost of the British expeditions to the Transvaal, but it has not been all loss to the British; for it has brought waverers both at home and in the Colonies into line in defense of the Government.

The minority opinion in England on the war, like the majority opinion, is capable of subdivision. There are those who hold that all the trouble in South Africa is due to the machinations of capitalists. They declare, with Mr. Lecky and Mr. Lowther, who both belong to the Conservative party, that the "trail of finance" is over it all. They cite the Jameson raid, with Cecil Rhodes's deception of British officers, civil and military, in South Africa, and the lying letters published in England on the day following the raid, to justify Jameson's exploit. Going no further back than the raid, these opponents of the war declare that the Boers had abundant

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reason utterly to distrust the Colonial Office and Mr. Chamberlain, and even to doubt the integrity of the British Parliament, after the South African Committee fiasco, and the charge repeatedly made, and still made, that that Committee had been packed by Rhodes's company. They recall Mr. Chamberlain's declaration in the House of Commons, after the South African Committee had abandoned its work, that in the intrigues leading up to the raid Cecil Rhodes had done nothing inconsistent with the honor of a gentleman. They point to the fact that Cecil Rhodes has never been removed from the Privy Council, and to the further fact that the British military officers implicated in the raid suffered no permanent loss in position or rank; and in view of all this, they maintain that, if the Boers valued their independence, they would have been woefully shortsighted had they failed to prepare for war, and to hold themselves in readiness for the supreme struggle which was coming.

People who take this ground also dwell on the influence for evil which the English press in South Africa and some of the London papers have had on the relations between the Boers and the British, and on the way in which the Boers have been misrepresented and maligned by these journals. How far this newspaper influence contributed to the war is a debatable matter. But it is unquestionable that the belittling of the Boers and of their Government, and the ignoring of the position of the Free State towards the Transvaal, were largely responsible for the popular impression, so prevalent in London last October, and so often manifested when troops were leaving for South Africa, that the British army had merely to make a grand march to Pretoria, and that the war would be at an end before Christmas.

Another group of the minority admits that the Outlanders had some grievances which called for remedy. Their opposition to the war is based on the belief that these grievances had been grossly exaggerated through the instrumentality of men who were concerned only as shareholders in mines, and that the diplomatic negotiations intended to secure a remedy were bungled by Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain. These are the people who most bitterly complain of the new diplomacy. The most prominent man in this group is Sir Edward Clarke, who, a couple of weeks ago, resigned his seat for Plymouth because of his merciless criticism of Mr. Chamberlain, and his demand that, when peace is restored, neither Sir Alfred Milner nor Mr. Chamberlain should have any part in the settlement. Sir Edward Clarke is one of the foremost lawyers in England. He has filled the offices of Solicitor and Attorney Generals in former Conservative Governments, and by his own choice remained out of the present Salisbury Ministry. He holds that Mr. Chamberlain is the author of the war by his failure to make clear to President Kruger in the last stages of the abortive negotiations that he intended to accept Kruger's proposal. This proposal did not embody all that Mr. Chamberlain had asked; but Sir Edward Clarke contends that it conceded nine-tenths of what Mr. Chamberlain had been working for, and that an explicit despatch from Mr. Chamberlain at this critical juncture would have ended the controversy.

A third group of the minority, like the second group, is distrustful of Mr. Chamberlain and condemns his methods. This group holds that Great Britain has been in the wrong in failing to recognize the intense love of nationality of the Boers, and in differentiating between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in regard to suzerainty. Mr. John Morley and Mr. Leonard Courtney are the men of national reputation prominent in this group—a group which is stigmatized by its opponents as the "Little Englanders."

With the arrival of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener on the scene in South Africa, and the growing conviction that British success must soon come, public attention has turned from the causes of the war to the nature of the settlement. Here again there is a well-marked difference of opinion. The majority holds that the two Republics must come to an end, and in the immediate future be treated as Crown Colonies, garrisoned by British troops, and without representative institutions such as exist in Canada, at the Cape, and in the Australasian colonies. The minority stands out for a more generous policy toward the Boers. They would remedy the Outlander grievances, make it impossible for the Boers again to

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amass great armaments, but preserve the integrity, if not the full independence, of both the Republics. This minority view—a view which, it may be noted, was put forward by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the Dominion Parliament—is overborne by the strong tide in the other direction, and it would seem that reduction to Crown Colonies is the fate in store for the Transvaal and the Free State.

The Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Public

By Samuel M. Davis

Of the Minneapolis Bar

THE Inter-State Commerce Commission was formed for a specific purpose. That purpose was to protect the public from excessive charges by the common carriers of the country. Before the passage of the act creating the Commission there were great abuses in railroad management and railroad transportation. The grave question Congress had to consider was how these abuses should be corrected, and what control should be taken of the business of such corporations. Congress decided that it was necessary, in order to give the public redress from these grievances, to create the Commission, and by statutory enactment clothed it with specific powers. The powers thus granted to the Commission were intended to correct these abuses and to give protection to the public against the unjust demands and discriminations of the railroads. The power of the Commission to pass upon the question whether rates were reasonable or unreasonable was fully granted. It was only when reasonable rates were ordered, after a full hearing, that the courts have decided that the Commission exceeded the powers granted to it in the act which called it into existence.

The Inter-State Commerce Commission never claimed the right, in the first instance, to prescribe the rate. If, on complaint, a rate was found to be unreasonable, the Commission fixed a rate which, in its opinion, would be just and fair, and ordered the carrier not to exceed that rate for the future. Such was the uniform procedure in matters relating to tariffs that were brought before it. More than one-half of all the formal orders made by it prescribed a change in the rate for the future. The Supreme Court of the United States in a recent case decided that the Commission has no power to prescribe a rate at which freight shall be carried. Its power is confined to passing upon the reasonableness or unreasonableness of rates. This was the most important case that has been passed upon since the Commission was created. The decision in this case has practically nullified the usefulness of the Commission. In passing upon the case the Court admitted the sweeping significance of the decision:

"The importance of the question cannot be overestimated. Billions of dollars are invested in railroad properties. Millions of passengers, as well as millions of tons of freight, are moved each year by the railroad companies, and this transportation is carried on by a multitude of corporations working in different parts of the country and subject to varying and diverse conditions."

While this decision may have great importance from the standpoint of the railroads, it has still greater importance from the standpoint of the people. For the year ending June 30, 1898, the total gross earnings of the railroads were $1,238,523,380. Of this sum $332,892,782 was derived from passenger service, and $874,865,487 from freight. The net earnings for the year were $427,281,922. These vast sums were contributed almost entirely by the people. A slight change in rates upon any of the staple commodities would amount to an enormous sum in the aggregate. The freight rate is often a large part of the cost to the consumer of many articles in daily use. The decision of the traffic managers of this country may decide whether or not the Western farmer

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shall burn his corn for fuel or send it to market. The same magnates decide whether or not an industry shall flourish or a community shall prosper. It is not only the billions of dollars invested in railroad properties which this question touches, but the welfare and common good of the people throughout the whole country. In the meantime how are the interests of the public being cared for? What influence is holding in check the vast power of the railroads?

The Commission sums up the present situation as follows: "Meanwhile the situation has become intolerable, both from the standpoint of the public and the carriers. Tariffs are disregarded, discriminations constantly occur, the price at which transportation can be obtained is fluctuating and uncertain. Railroad managers are distrustful of each other, and shippers all the while in doubt as to the rates secured by their competitors. The volume of traffic is so unusual as to frequently exceed the capacity of equipment, yet the contest for tonnage seems never relaxed. Enormous sums are spent in purchasing business, and secret rates accorded far below the standard of published charges. The general public gets little benefit from these reductions, for concessions are mainly confined to the heavier shippers. All this augments the advantages of large capital, and tends to the injury and often the ruin of smaller dealers. These are not only matters of gravest consequence to the business welfare of the country, but they concern in no less degree the higher interests of public morality."

A recent investigation of flour rates from Minneapolis to the Atlantic seaboard disclosed a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. All the roads interested were represented by counsel, and, thus supported, the witnesses dodged and evaded answering the questions propounded by the attorney of the Commission. This inquiry was greatly hampered by the disappearance of material witnesses before subpœnas for their attendance could be served, the alleged inability of several who did testify to recall transactions of recent date, and the evident reluctance of others to disclose any information bearing upon the subjects involved. Although all of the railway witnesses, including the accounting officers, denied knowledge of any violation of the statute, yet it was fully established that secret rate concessions had been generally granted on this traffic, and that the carriers had allowed larger rebates to some of the flour shippers than to others. The auditor of one road admitted that he had collected rebates from Eastern roads, and distributed the money to the shippers. He further admitted that, for obvious reasons, he kept no book account of such transactions, and that a few days before he was called as a witness his clerk had, by his direction, destroyed the statements on which these rebates had been paid. Such are a few of the facts as reported by the Commission. The attorney for one of the leading railroads concerned in this investigation declared to the writer that he hoped the railroads were violating the provisions of the Inter-State Commerce Law.

The public are, therefore, face to face with a situation in which the common carriers of the country are openly and boastfully violating the law; the Inter-State Commerce Act reduced to a nullity by the courts; and the public subjected to the discriminations and unjust practices of the railroads. To state the situation but emphasizes the fact that something ought to be done. The plain duty of Congress is to amend the Inter-State Commerce Act, making it operative. At the same time the Commission should have power to enforce its orders. Three propositions can safely be affirmed:

1. Congress may fix inter-State rates, either directly or through the agency of a commission.

2. Whether those rates, when fixed, are just and reasonable is a judicial question. The carrier cannot be deprived of the right to raise that question at some time and in some form.

3. Under the Constitution the power of the Federal courts is confined strictly to determining whether the rate is reasonable.

These principles having been so settled by the courts, let the Commission have power to ascertain what is a reasonable rate, and fix that rate by order. Let there be appeal from this order, within a reasonable time, if the carrier is aggrieved. Let the case, when reviewed by the court, be upon the same facts that were before the Commission when the order was made.

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Unless appeal is taken, let the order of the Commission be final and absolute; enforceable, as are the mandates of the Federal courts, by proper penalties.

The necessity for the regulation of our inter-State carriers is universally recognized. It is resorted to in nearly every civilized country in the world. Most of the States have adopted such a measure. The enactment of the law to regulate commerce was in obedience to a popular demand, and to remedy existent evils. The experience of more than ten years has demonstrated the necessity and justice of such an act. By proper amendment let Congress make the law operative. The interests of the public demand this; nothing less will give adequate relief.

The Regeneration of Rural New England

III.—Religious

By Rollin Lynde Hartt

SEVERAL months ago Governor Rollins, of New Hampshire, issued a Fast Day proclamation which became immediately and very widely notorious. It was criticised in newspapers, rebuked in sermons, excitedly discussed on street corners, and attacked in "poems." Its offense was direct. It intimated that the Christian religion was dying out in New Hampshire.

To all appearances the alarmist Governor has merely stated in hyperbole what is lamentably true in fact. What he says applies with more or less pertinence to nearly all the farming districts of New England. Maine, for instance, has two hundred and eighty-two pastorless churches. Not a few of those once-sacred edifices now serve as cheese-factories, dance-halls, and road-houses. Other States show somewhat analogous conditions. Through large sections of the agricultural regions—regions formerly renowned for their piety and godliness—the common attitude toward religion is one of stolid indifference. The people are lapsing toward heathenism.

How, one asks in amazement, can this ever have happened? The reasons are many. For one thing, the population is declining, and in certain localities has already so far declined that the support of a resident clergyman is impossible. At the same time the surviving farmers have been impoverished. In towns originally overchurched, factional lines forbid the people to unite in the maintenance of one church instead of letting three churches die of inanition. Sometimes churches were built where there was never any real assurance of continued religious activity; a revivalistic movement, followed by relapse, has occasionally resulted in a chapel, afterward abandoned, and presenting to-day a pathetic reminder of wholesale backsliding. In some slight measure the spread of Spiritualism, Second Adventism, and various types of puny two-by-four infidelity, has injured the churches. With all the rest there has been a very regrettable decline in the quality of village preaching and in the standards of pastoral administration. The personnel of the clergy is less impressive than formerly, especially among Congregationalists. Never was ordination so easy. Uneducated men, Salvation Army captains, illiterate evangelists, graduates of "schools for Christian workers," preachers of inferior intellectual equipment, and now and then women, are being made ministers. The "Congregationalist" was right in publishing that famous editorial "A Decadent Ministry." In a good many New England villages there are people who refuse to listen to the sort of preaching the village pulpit offers. But, on the whole, the chief trouble is the awful dry-rot that is taking the life out of the stricken country towns. The same forces which caused the decay of agriculture and the decay of social institutions cause also the decay of the church.

On the other hand, corrective tendencies are at work. Among the newcomers from abroad, the Catholic Church is everywhere active. The home missionary society saves many Protestant churches

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from extinction; it even—as I have once or twice had reason to observe—helps support churches fully able to support themselves. High praise is due the New England Evangelistic Association. Here and there young men from Mr. Moody's school at Mount Hermon accomplish wonderful results—the work of Mr. J. C. Wightman, at Moore's Corner, Mass., being a brilliant case in point. The Christian Crusaders, an offshoot of the Salvation Army, succeed in awakening the religious impulse when no other method would do so. Theological students and sometimes college boys spend their summer vacations preaching in villages where the churches are closed all the rest of the year. Moreover, the present overcrowding of the ministry is forcing young men of fine ability into the rural districts against their will. Yet each one of these remedial agencies is offset by serious drawbacks. Although Puritan New England is gradually becoming a Romish New France, that fact has no bearing at all upon the religious condition of our native populations. Home missionary money tempts a church to shirk its responsibilities. Sporadic evangelistic enterprises often result in partial, if not total, relapse. Vacation preaching can never take the place of a stable pulpit. And the unemployed clergyman who takes a country parish because the bureau of pastoral supply offers nothing more inviting simply waits his day of escape. No, we must find a better remedy than any as yet proposed.

"Get your man, and all's got." The final solution of the country church problem is personal rather than institutional; it is institutional only that it may become personal. Given a young man of high character and a warm heart, given a man of education, given a man with a message, and that man will be sure of a hearing. Such a man can in time build up a vigorous church in the sorriest of villages. He can reach the unchurched class. He can satisfy the "over-intelligent" malcontents. The difficulty, however, is to get your man, and, having got him, to keep him. Nor does this imply any grievous fault on the part of the man. I am sure that no one who appreciates the situation will blame a talented young minister for wanting to leave a New England country pulpit. His perplexities and disappointments are at once pecuniary, social, moral, and professional.

Spite of the unselfish ideals of the ministry, it is sheer cant and nonsense to talk of living above the pecuniary difficulties of such a situation. The preacher in a dead town receives—or hopes to receive, or gives up hoping to receive—a salary of six hundred dollars (two hundred dollars coming from the home missionary society), which, for an unmarried man, will keep flesh and spirit unsevered, or would, if the people paid up. The society does its part promptly and conscientiously—even kindly and with sympathetic solicitude. The people lag behind. Complaints meet the stolid reply that in the history of the entire countryside no church has ever been known to pay up. Decayed parishes apparently regard their contract with a preacher as a purely poetic arrangement. They think him a sublimated angel of light till he objects to being run into debt. Then he "lacks consecration," or "is in the ministry for revenue only." Furthermore, there is a widespread insistence that the man shall be married. Thus the church will get two ministers for its money (or lack of money), the parsonage will be "occupied," and the community will behold the curious spectacle of a poor parson attempting the support of a family on a starveling pittance without the smallest assurance that the pittance will ever be paid. Result? Debts, anxiety, dissatisfaction, and a succession of shamefully degrading experiences such as no man of character will endure without inward, if not outward, protest.

Suppose the man single, and therefore on more genial terms with his creditors; the misery takes him another way. He is the loneliest mortal on earth. The diseased village commonly contains not one congenial soul. There are people you can love, people you can admire, people you can serve with a glad heart, but it is unmitigated moonshine to pretend that those people can afford one anything like continuous intellectual companionship. This, of course, presupposes a college education and seminary training on the part of the preacher; but upon no other presupposition is a preacher fit for his task. Furthermore, when a man of broad culture and wide social experience

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takes a cross-roads parish, he is sooner or later made to feel himself just a little disgraced in the eyes of his clerical friends. Introduced as the pastor from Squash Acres, he makes a poor impression—or thinks he does, which comes to the same thing. Why did he go to Squash Acres? Why does he remain there? Was it necessary for him to slink into the backwoods to get his talents recognized? The fellow has heard sermons about heroic home missionaries, but when he himself turns home missionary and then meets the preachers who pronounced those eulogies, they don't regard him appreciatively—or, if they do, they take small pains to show it.

Morally, you face an uncomfortable problem. You are, we will say, a graduate of a progressive seminary. What then? You are required to preach to a congregation who regard the slightest deviation from the old orthodoxy as professional criminality. The younger element has left the village, the older people remain, and they are shocked and grieved when they discover traces of "liberalism" in their minister. What, pray, shall one do? "Tact" and diplomacy shade off into deceit, silence concerning objectionable dogmas goes for reticence and arouses suspicion, and outspoken candor makes trouble by offending the aged, perplexing what few young people there are left to perplex, and imperiling the clergyman's influence. On the other hand, there is, outside the church, a faction of liberal thinkers who "would come to service if the preacher was only up to the times."

Professionally, the village parson is sadly hampered. He sees a dozen opportunities to introduce institutional methods of church work, a score of demands for service to the village in secular relations, many a chance to contribute to its social and intellectual life. But the man is alone. He lacks helpers and he lacks financial resources. Even his preaching seems to him a very ineffectual medium of moral and spiritual impartation. It takes more than talking to overcome the morbid tendencies of isolation—tendencies which make for petty meanness, for selfishness, for egotistic sensitiveness—in short, for all the traits which make Miss Wilkins's characters so unlovely. It takes a great deal besides talking to counteract narrowness. It takes something decidedly more vigorous to elevate animalism. It takes something much more penetrating to culture the untrained conscience. And the deplorable lack in rural morals lies just there: instead of living by principle, country people live by rule; there is nothing like ethical autonomy; the life fails to proceed from within outward. Legalism, in the form of a code of taboos, becomes not infrequently a most bewildering and inconsistent guide for conduct. Abstaining from beer-drinking, you may, nevertheless, drink hard cider; discriminating against smoking, you may plant your farm with tobacco for the market; disapproving of dancing, you may play kissing games; when in town you shun the theater, but at home you attend the amateur "drammer," which is invariably buffoonish and sometimes not even moral. Card-playing is forbidden, because card-playing leads to gambling, and gambling is dishonest; yet there is no such ban upon paltry swindling, overreaching, and the fraudulent sale of horses and "caows." In many parts of New England cheating is called "deaconing." Moreover, self-respect rests more upon the opinion of others than upon the opinion a man holds of himself. The great police force of the small town is the terror of "bein' talked abaout." And the significance of all this becomes apparent when the village young people enter upon life in the city. Watch the moral trend of the South End of Boston. There the code of taboos becomes ineffectual because new conditions have arisen; the restraint of prying watchfulness is relaxed because the South End is not a community of neighbors; and a half-trained conscience too often gives way before wholly novel temptations. What wonder, then, that, although a country parson delights in the many admirable virtues of his flock, he sometimes thinks his pulpit a sadly inadequate agency for the correction of their shortcomings? What wonder that, as a preacher, he fancies (whether rightly or not) that the city is to be his best sphere of influence?

What I have said thus far does not imply that there are not contented clergymen in rural parishes; neither does it imply that the country minister is always unfit for his profession. It does, however, imply that, in the towns of which I

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am writing—the dead, decayed, woebegone villages, the very places where the best effort is needed—you can only by sheer luck get a trained man, and you have to invoke the supernatural to keep him when you have got him. Pecuniary difficulties might not send him away; social privation might not do so; moral perplexities might leave him with you; professional limitations might not prove fatal; but all these things united can have but one effect.

If, then, the problem is personal rather than institutional—if, too, it is institutional that it may become personal—I think I see the open path to its solution. The social settlement, outlined in the preceding papers of this series, promises the sure religious regeneration of rural New England. Put the settlement on a confessedly religious basis; make it an adjunct of the church. Thus you will "get your man" and all will be got.

See how the plan will work. As the preacher will take residence in the settlement, it will not be necessary to call a married man and have the parsonage "occupied;" or, if the preacher have a family, the settlement association can stand surety for his salary, and it can even see that his salary is increased to reasonable dimensions; in either case the financial difficulty may easily be met. On the social side, the minister is assured the companionship and sympathy of people of his own class and of ideals akin to his own; and to share in the work of the settlement invests his position with a new dignity. In the matter of doctrinal candor, it is safe to say that doctrinal candor flourishes best in an atmosphere of open-mindedness and of intellectual activity. Such a group as your social settlers will exert an influence upon the whole community, an influence which will prepare the way for a great deal of modern enlightenment. Every village looks up to some wise person, or some person supposed to be wise, for intellectual leadership; and the residents at the settlement, holding precisely this position, would become the preacher's best allies. The atmosphere of freedom would come of itself. Professionally, the country clergyman would find himself the pastor of an institutional church; and in the purely religious administration of that institutional church he would find the ablest assistants. Settlers would teach in his Sunday-school, train his choir, speak in his mid-week meetings. And his efforts to broaden the moral life would be embodied and exemplified in the realized ideals of the settlement. Continued personal contact with generous, high-minded characters is the real school of honor. Little by little the village will adopt the principles of the settlers; it will outgrow its legalistic narrowness; it will learn to despise petty meanness and dishonesty; it can be taught to love right for right's sake, irrespective of neighborhood comment. Furthermore, the cramped, constricted individualism so characteristic of village life will give way before a newly awakened public spirit. The people will be made to see that religion is something more than attendance upon church services and the avoidance of stated offenses. There will be a novel recognition of the claims of social ethics, a wholly new conception of public service, a life that is broadened and strengthened by the abundance of the materials it finds to work with.

There, it seems to me, is an inviting field of labor for the noblest type of young clergyman. Relieved of its common limitations, the country pulpit offers a brilliant opportunity. Nowhere is the preacher's message more earnestly heeded; nowhere is his position one of greater power over the individual; nowhere are his sermons more widely discussed or more exactly remembered. And upon the subject of homiletic manner and matter the farmer is critical. Now and then a village preacher succeeds by sensationalism, but, so far as I have observed, the real demand is for meaty, thoughtful, straightforward discourses upon high themes. Country people "want something to think about." The minister's best efforts are none too good for his hearers. Moreover, while the city pastor is busied with a hundred interests aside from the preparation of sermons, the rural parish affords leisure for study. And the study pays. You are not feeding overfed minds. You are fulfilling a genuine need. So, when a man has undertaken such a task as this, with such inspiring co-operation as the settlement promises, only a very exceptionally attractive city pulpit can tempt him away.

Now, by way of conclusion, let us

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utopianize a little. Borrowing for a moment the license of Besant and Bellamy and Balzac, let us get a glimpse of the settlement in its ideal entirety. The association furnishes financial support, the model farm makes money, the buying up of abandoned farm property and the turning of it into summer homes to be rented or sold yield a profit upon the investment. Sums thus accruing pay the salary of the "head," in whole or in part. Under his skillful supervision new industries are established, co-operative farming introduced, and a co-operative store opened. The villagers are steadily increasing their incomes. One by one the mortgages are raised. Meanwhile the place has become attractive; there are sidewalks and street lamps, the church and the town hall and the school-houses have been tastefully decorated, landscape gardening is in fashion, and the hideous advertisements have long since disappeared. And once inside the village you find an atmosphere of friendliness and hospitality. There are public spirit and an increased intelligence. A settler teaches in the district school; the library is enlarged and improved; every winter there are courses of lectures, half a dozen concerts, and a delightful picture show; and visits to the city are by no means unheard of. The unprincipled quack who formerly "practiced medicine" in that neighborhood is displaced by a well-trained physician, resident at the settlement. Still another resident, the village preacher, is the happiest man in town. His church has doubled its membership, former abuses are disappearing, the unchurched class is successfully reached, and the good work grows of itself as the years run by. In short, the whole tone of the community is elevated—so much so that the young people prefer to remain at home rather than to post away to the city. The population is growing. Newcomers, of the most desirable sort, are flocking into the village. And, best of all, this radically regenerated community becomes, on the one hand, a persuasive object-lesson to the whole countryside, and, on the other, an incentive to philanthropists to repeat in other fields what has proved so successful in this.

Philippine Problems: An Unpolitical View[1]

By Phelps Whitmarsh

Special Commissioner for The Outlook in the Philippines

SOME months ago, while in Hong-Kong, I was enabled to give the readers of The Outlook a view of the Philippine question through Filipino eyes. Since then I have had time and opportunity to study the question on the spot; and I find, as under the circumstances might reasonably be expected, that a Filipino statement of the case is in no wise different from a partisan American statement—correct in some things and incorrect in others; for, while most people admit that there are two sides, few give more than one. As a disinterested recorder of facts and impressions, with no one to dictate my policy and with no leanings except toward truth and justice, I think I may claim impartiality.

Before the Spanish-American war began, Aguinaldo and his colleagues were in Hong-Kong, keeping very quiet and quarreling over the money paid them by Spain. Artacho, to secure what he considered his share, entered an action against Aguinaldo in the Supreme Court, which caused Aguinaldo to go to Singapore. He was accompanied by Howard W. Bray, an Englishman of questionable reputation, and by him introduced to W. G. St. Clair, editor of the Singapore "Free Press." St. Clair took Aguinaldo under his wing, made a lion of him, and among other personages introduced him to Mr. Pratt, the United States Consul. Pratt, St. Clair, and Bray, from varying motives and by means of flattery, gave Aguinaldo the idea that he had an opportunity of becoming a second George Washington. He was shown all available American newspapers, which at that time pointed almost exclusively to Philippine independence. It is likely that Pratt stopped short of actual

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promises. It is also certain that Aguinaldo would have been satisfied without promises, believing, as all the world did then, that independence was sufficiently assured. In all the conferences it is important to note that Bray was the interpreter; for St. Clair and Pratt knew no Spanish and Aguinaldo no English. Bray is a remarkably plausible and effusive talker, and, as events proved, he was undoubtedly reckoning on a good reward for his services. Thus he may have put words in Pratt's mouth which Pratt never said. It is possible that the misunderstanding between the Americans and Filipinos was originated in this way. Guarded statements, interpreted by an overconfident man; profuse protestations of a windy press, explained optimistically to an untutored, half-civilized individual, added to the undoubted historical fact that, at the time, everything looked as if the United States would not keep the islands—these reasons were, I think, sufficient to explain why Aguinaldo and his followers firmly believed that the Philippines would be given the same privileges that all Spain's South American possessions had been given in the past. They were all set free by the aid of other nations, without annexation. Had Aguinaldo known more of the world, he would have seen the possibility of events taking a different course. Neither he nor Pratt made sufficient allowance for the uncertainties of the future. And they all overlooked the fact, which indeed seems new to the world at large, that there is such a thing as a nation being unfit for independence. Here both sides are to blame for trusting too much to the appearance of things.

Pratt, then, without having committed himself or his country, but having emphatically allowed Aguinaldo to believe that he had committed both, sent Dewey a harmless telegram, asking if Aguinaldo would be of use. Dewey was justified in sending for him, even if only for the sake of getting information; and he did send for him, though without making any promises, it is certain. This brought Aguinaldo to Hong-Kong and to Wildman. The difficulty with Artacho was patched up, and Wildman gave Aguinaldo unofficial assurances of independence. Wildman strenuously insisted that the Americans were sincere and would give up the country; and he probably believed it. He may not have given Aguinaldo any pledges or have spoken in an official capacity, but he said these things to him, and Aguinaldo and his friends believed them. Had they not done so, it is morally certain that Aguinaldo would not have returned to the Philippines.

War could have been averted. I suppose one may say that all wars could be prevented if all men were wise. At the Pratt and Wildman stage, had these two gentlemen known that circumstances alter cases, had they appreciated that they were instilling the idea of absolute independence into Aguinaldo's mind, this war could have been prevented. There were people who foresaw trouble even then. The Spaniards definitely predicted that the Americans and the Filipinos would quarrel, even though they did not acknowledge that Spain would be defeated. Manila papers of April and May, 1898, are full of warnings to the Filipinos that the Americans would not give them independence, and warnings to the Americans that the Filipinos would be ungrateful and want too much. It is probable that Dewey also foresaw it. While still in Hong-Kong, he said: "I don't want any dealings with conspirators or Juntas or bandits. I can do all my work without their aid. I am a sailor, and I don't want to mix myself up in anything outside of sailoring." Dewey was right. It would have been best to have had no dealings at all with the rebels. Manila would not have been easily captured, it is true, but that is of small moment. It would have been harder at the time, but easier and safer in the end.

Again, the war could have been avoided by having a clear and distinct understanding when Aguinaldo was brought to Cavite. Had Aguinaldo been put in his proper place, and been told plainly and frankly the exact situation, things would have shaped themselves differently. Instead of a straightforward avowal, however, instead of making it understood that no pledges could be given, that co-operation was not an alliance, and that independence was a matter for future consideration and could not be recognized; instead, in short, of our representatives being honest and aboveboard with the Filipinos, the latter were allowed, nay encouraged, to believe that the Philippines were to

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be an independent republic. It is true that they were not officially recognized, but, on the other hand, they were permitted to take arms and ammunition captured by Dewey at Cavite, and allowed to receive other arms brought from Hong-Kong by Dewey's consent, and with the active aid of Wildman. They were permitted to fly their own flag, to form their own government, and before the fall of Manila the Spanish prisoners made by the Americans were handed over to them. To a nation which up to that time had thorough confidence in the Americans, such things were a tacit acknowledgment of their hopes and beliefs. Arms should never have been allowed to be landed except under the American flag, and then only with enough Americans in the Filipino army to insure and prove American control. Dewey is to blame for letting arms go into the hands of the Filipinos under any other conditions.

After this, it cannot be said positively that war could have been averted. I believe, however, that an exceptionally clever man, one accustomed to handling Asiatics—and there are such men—could have prevented it at several subsequent stages. Having allowed a native army to gather, and to believe in its own greatness, nothing but a careful course of assiduous interchange of ideas between Americans and Filipinos, informal and tactful, could have kept them in the right groove. The Americans did not, and could not, know their own plans at the time, but they could have taken the Filipinos into their confidence, explained matters frankly, and kept them friendly. I doubt if this would have been possible between two armies divided by a linguistic barrier, but it should have been tried. The mistake was in allowing them to build up a large army and then ignoring them. It should never have been permitted in the first place, but, having been built up, it should have been openly and fraternally treated.

During the siege of Manila it was grossly unfair to ignore the important work done by the rebels: first, in drawing away so many soldiers from the Spaniards; secondly, in shutting off their food supplies; and, thirdly, in creating the fear of an uprising in the city. To ignore these things was not to persuade the Filipinos of their unimportance, rather the contrary. Every act of Aguinaldo's that was ignored by the Americans was one step nearer to the present war. Ignoring did not undo it. It was the ostrich trick.

The crucial point was the capture of Manila. A friend who wrote me regarding this says: "I was inside all through the siege, and went down to meet the Americans and 'holler;' and I met Filipino troops on the way. Except in the walled city, they were in first, all over the town." This is an important fact, and one must bear in mind what led up to it. Aguinaldo had made an agreement with the Spaniards in May or June to turn against the Americans, and though he weakened on it and did not actually do so, he was doubtful up to the last. During the last two or three weeks of the siege the Filipinos were considerably less active and vigilant, and were letting supplies into the city in exchange for cigarettes at some points, though they continued fighting in a general way along most of the line. It will be understood, therefore, that to put pressure on Aguinaldo at this time, or to say anything that would dissatisfy him, would have thrown him at once into the Spaniards' arms. It is doubtful if any one could have prevented him from entering the city when it was taken, without a rupture. At all events, General Merritt did not go about it in the right way. He was a newcomer, and did not understand. It would have been better on August 12 if Merritt had talked candidly to Aguinaldo, put the position before him in its true light, and asked him to stand out. If Aguinaldo had refused, Merritt could have intrenched himself and telegraphed for reinforcements to fight both enemies, being safe, meanwhile, for any length of time under the guns of the fleet. He was ordered to avoid joint occupation at all costs; the order was wise, and he failed to obey. It would have meant a great deal of trouble both here and in America, and he was afraid to face it. Thus the occupation was joint.

Following the joint occupation there came a lull; and here again was at least a chance to avoid war, though every day made it more difficult. Frankness was once more the card to be played, but instead the Americans again persistently ignored the Filipinos. There was room

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for much friendly talk with the rebel leaders; and if they were too distrustful to come to Manila, the American leaders could have gone to Malolos. It undoubtedly takes a good deal of confidential conversation to win an Asiatic when once he has become suspicious, and the linguistic difficulty was a great bar; but there were Englishmen who had lived long among the natives and had their full confidence, if only the Americans would have used them. Merritt, moreover, was in a hurry to get home. Then came Otis, hard-working, conscientious, and an honest man, a cautious yet an excellent soldier, but wholly lacking in the one thing most needed—tact.

So things drifted, friction increasing, harmony not being cultivated, until an informal Joint Commission was appointed to see if any agreement could be arrived at. It lasted only a short time, however, and it effected nothing. It is impossible to say definitely how the Commission attempted to settle the difficulty, but it is generally believed that the American Commissioners tried to persuade the Filipinos to recognize American supremacy pending the decision of Congress on the Treaty of Paris, while the Filipinos held out for a recognition of independence in any event. If the general belief be correct, the Americans set to work in the wrong way. It would have been possible, I think, to have promised the Filipinos all they asked, and still have made reservations that would have satisfied America without antagonizing the Filipinos. They wanted recognition of independence, certainly, but they did not expect that it would be given them at once; and, as Aguinaldo himself said, some sort of protection could not have been dispensed with. Such a method would have given them time to learn their own weakness; and afterwards they might really have qualified for independence, or they might have realized that they did not want it. As the discussions of the Commission were kept secret, however, one cannot be sure of this ground. I can only say in a general way that I think it is always possible to remain friends if one knows how—and wants to.

Finally, I think President McKinley's proclamation could have been worded in such a way that it would have been much more convincing than it was. It must be remembered, moreover, that it was not published by Otis as McKinley sent it, but in a greatly weakened and obscured form, which roused rather than allayed the Filipinos' suspicions. It should have been terse and in terms of childish simplicity. It might have been begun by saying, "We are here solely to give you all you can reasonably wish," and so have won their good will before they proceeded to read the limitations that inevitably attached themselves to any settlement. The wording of an offer often decides whether it be accepted or declined. It is doubtful if at this stage any human ingenuity could have prevented war; but since some of Aguinaldo's strongest supporters came over to the American side at the last moment, it may be inferred that a little more diplomacy would have won more from him.

After the proclamation, as the number of American troops increased, so did the Filipinos become more and more suspicious; and from about that time they began to make positive preparations to attack Manila.

One thing that tended to embitter the Filipino rank and file was the constant friction at the front. There was never any neutral zone between the two armies, and the sentries were always clashing, and getting hotter and hotter at each encounter. The first big clash was on January 14, when the Filipinos and Nebraskans were within a hair's breadth of a pitched battle. The Filipinos admitted that they were in the wrong, and waited until their preparations were more complete. Then, although they had everything arranged for February 5, they spoiled their own plans by being too impetuous and breaking out on the 4th.

From the middle of January most people in Manila knew that the Filipinos meant to fight. The military authorities, however, seem to have shut their eyes to the danger, for not even the precaution of drawing the railway rolling-stock into the town was taken, and as a result the enemy got almost all of it. Right up to the moment of the outbreak, moreover, Filipino officers and soldiers were allowed the run of the town, as long as they were not caught carrying arms. As there was no effective prevention, however, they did bring in arms, and were making arrange-

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ments all the time for an uprising and a massacre in the city. This was generally known, and people asked indignantly why the authorities took no notice. The censor prevented the correspondents from sending a word of it to America, saying that it would alarm the people too much. If there had been permission to tell the truth and record bare facts, there would surely have been instructions sent out that would have lessened if not prevented the trouble that came later. While it is undoubtedly true that at no time since Dewey's victory could America have withdrawn from the islands, it is also a fact that at many stages war could have been avoided.

So far, I have attempted to show that the Filipinos were allowed to believe at the outset that they were to be given absolute independence, and that but for blundering American diplomacy, or rather a total want of it, the Philippine war could have been averted. For these two things the Filipinos are to be pitied and the Americans are to be blamed. In my next letter I shall continue this unpolitical view of events here and their meaning as I understand it.

Manila, P. I.

Archbishop Benson

THE life of Archbishop Benson has been written by his son with a frankness that is winning but at the same time discreet and dignified; the two large illustrated volumes tell with scholarly accuracy and yet with great literary skill a most absorbing story. In spite of the mass of interesting detail, the mind of the reader is never allowed to lose sight of the large movements and the continual progress in this remarkable life.

Here certainly

> The childhood shows the man
> As the morning shows the day,

for Edward White Benson was a born ecclesiastic. His rise from the obscurity which enveloped him as a son of a factory manager to the eminence of the Primacy of All England was the unforced—it now seems inevitable—expansion of a nature to whom religion as embodied in the Anglican Church was the all-inclusive fact of life. Churchliness was a passion with him, as music is with a composer, and for much the same reason; his temperament was in its elements artistic. He was intense, often impetuous, sensitive, decisive. "Even at night," we are told, "he lived in fantastic and fiery dreams." When, therefore, in his early years, the Church of England, with its beauty of ritual, its architectural monuments, its traditions and historic organic forms, appealed to him, he eagerly seized upon it as the means by which he could best express himself. At first his devotion to ritual was mainly æsthetic; it was nevertheless engrossing. When he was about fourteen, he fitted up the office of the disused factory where he lived as an oratory, with a draped table, "rubbings" of brasses in neighboring churches, and a rough wooden cross. Here he said daily the canonical hours. He had then "no democratic views about the right to worship," as is shown by the fact that because of occasional surreptitious visits to his chapel by his sisters, he made "an ingenious device which automatically both recorded and avenged the advent of any intruding worshiper." This practice of carrying on his private devotions in a churchly manner he continued until his death. As he grew older and became more seriously religious this love of ritual ministered to what was deepest and best in him. Indeed, so thoroughly was religion in his thought identified with beauty that he believed it was only through ignorance, not deliberate choice, that any one could possibly be alienated from the ritualistic branches of the Church. He was a firm believer in the Establishment of the English Church, not because he thought Establishment best for the Church—indeed, he recognized the many advantages of Disestablishment—but because he was convinced that it was invaluable for England and English social life. On the other hand, he was not distinctively a High Churchman. Because of his very erudition in matters of historic ritual he was often repelled and pained by the

[1] *The Life of Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.* By his son, Arthur Christopher Benson, of Eton College. Two Volumes. $8. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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pretensions of the High Church party. Before he was twenty he wrote to a friend: "I hear much of the Church, the Baptism, the Eucharist, but very little of Christ's Church, Christ's Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the atonement and mediation of Christ."

In a letter written while he was head master at Wellington School he said: "I am myself neither High, nor Low, nor Broad Church, though I hear myself consigned by turns to all—as often to one as to another. But I find too much to do in bringing before boys the weightier matters of honor, truthfulness, industry, obedience, mutual kindness, ever to trouble myself, or them either, with party views, party questions, or party practices."

And again, when Primate, in referring to a case of religious difficulty: "And all our time and most of our thought taken up with these dreadful lights and ablutions!"

Ritual was very dear to him as a means, even a source, of religious experience, but not as an end. He was, as he said, "pleased but anxious" to see worship "getting ornamental;" and of the choirs he wondered, "How fares it with those singing men and boys?" His one desire for worship was to envelop it with the thought, "This is Thine, O Lord, of Thee, in Thee."

His life was a varied one in its circumstances. He went to school at Birmingham, and was a sizar at Cambridge, where he took the highest University honor, then became a master at Rugby. From Rugby he was called to the Headmastership of Wellington College—a newly founded school—and after thirteen years became Chancellor at Lincoln Cathedral. He was appointed the first Bishop of Truro, and finally was made Archbishop. On all these positions he brought to bear his ardent nature, and in them all he was the same thorough Churchman.

As a schoolmaster his impetuosity often took the form of severity. "Some old pupil has said," the biographer remarks, "that it was an awful sight to see the head master fold his gown round him and cane a liar before the school."

He knew the character and conduct of the boys minutely. Indeed, in all things he was unwearied in attention to detail; he directed, for instance, such things as the carving of the flowers on the chapel pillars.

His scholarship was exact rather than broad, so much so that it was burlesqued by the boys in an imaginary translation beginning: "*Continuo*—from the first *and all along;* in *silvis*—in the *wild* woods—none of your trim groves," and so on. He formed a habit of doing everything himself—a habit that stayed by him, as the following anecdote shows:

"I remember once, at some extremely busy time, going to see him at Lambeth and spending half an hour with him putting a roll of papers away. Every drawer proved too small or too deep; at last it was fixed; but, on coming to dinner an hour after, 'I've been in *despair* ever since. I was afraid it might *swell up* in the night, and make it impossible to open it, so I had to take it out, but can't find a place yet!'"

He left Wellington to become Chancellor at Lincoln because he believed that the old Cathedral bodies might be revived and adapted to modern needs, especially to theological training. His school work was eminently successful; his work at Lincoln was not so long tested. The most notable part of that work was his establishment of night classes for the workingmen of the city. The first night he expected about sixty, and found four hundred waiting for admittance. "As soon as the doors were open the Chancellor mounted the table and in stentorian tones shouted, 'All over forty years old go to such a room,' 'All over thirty to another,' and so in an incredibly short time the mass of men and boys were roughly sorted." In spite of his aristocratic instincts, he became much endeared to these men. "In his first speech to the night school he began, 'Gentlemen—no—men and boys.' 'And nippers,' called out a voice ["nipper" meaning in Lincolnshire a boy of about fifteen]. 'Men, boys, and nippers,' he went straight on." One of these men has testified that "he appeared to have the faculty of looking at things with a 'workman's mind.'" When he left, they presented him with a set of bronze dishes they had themselves made, which, though not beautiful, he used constantly.

As Bishop of Truro he was indefatigable in studying the needs of his wild and scattered Cornish diocese. Instead of finding this work disheartening, he found it invigorating and absorbing. His ecclesiastical sense was thrilled by discoveries

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of old traditions; his heart was touched by many cases of pitiful desolation, and his enthusiasm kindled by the religious undercurrent in the lives of the roughest folk. "He read largely," the biographer says, "in the lives and writings of Nonconformists in order to understand the hold established by them over the religious Celtic mind in days when the Church was failing in her duty. From the first he was recognized by the Cornish as a 'converted man.' . . . And he treated Nonconformity as an enthusiastic friend." He had the joy of seeing a new Cathedral—the first, he inquired, since the Conquest?—founded and partly built. In this, as in other parts of his work there, "both sides of his nature had full sway—his passionate devotion to things venerable and traditional no less than his genius for construction."

His tenure of the archiepiscopal office lasted from 1883 to 1896. During that time several important questions had to be decided—the Lincoln case as to High Church practices, the Colenso case as to South African affairs, plan of Union with Rome, etc. The whole of the second volume is given over to this period; it is impossible, of course, even to outline that here. Through it all he preserved a judicial spirit and a self-controlled humility that was extraordinary in a temperament naturally so perfervid and autocratic. Taunts at the pomp which attended him stung him, because they showed an enmity to his beloved Church; on one occasion, when one of these that must have hurt was flung at him by a cab-driver, he only smiled and remarked, "Very pithily put, wasn't it?"

At no time during his life did he seem to be much stirred by either of the great upheavals in modern religious feeling. What is called vaguely social Christianity never appealed to him, interested though he was in social conditions. The Higher Criticism never disturbed him, because his nature did not admit of doubt. Of one commentator he remarked: "He made me feel that Elijah had been a sort of old umbrella man. I didn't care to read anything about Elijah for a long time." On the other hand, he has written: "I have no doubt that St. John the Apostle wrote the Fourth Gospel, but if I thought that some other had composed it I should have one more surprising spiritual genius to admire with veneration."

To few men is given such intense religious life as that of Edward White Benson. His diary and his letters, especially those to his lifelong friends Lightfoot and Westcott, show a spiritual conception on his part of his own work that explains his power and influence as nothing else could.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. The absence of comment in this department in many cases indicates that extended review will be made at a later date. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

At Start and Finish. By William Lindsey. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 4×6¾ in. 256 pages. $1.25.

This includes, in addition to the stories about college and other athletic contests printed two years ago by another publisher, a readable account in vivacious form of the international intercollegiate athletic events in England last summer. The author is technically qualified to write intelligently on athletic topics, and he also has the faculty of writing stories, which, though without much literary finish, have spirit and life.

Captain Dieppe. By Anthony Hope. Doubleday & McClure Co., New York. 4½×6½ in. 223 pages. 50c.

This is the merest trifle, amusing enough and successfully fulfilling its intended mission of occupying a leisure half-hour. Its complications, if not very probable, are cleverly managed, and its dialogue is often witty.

Carlo Crivelli. By G. McNeil Rushforth, M.A. (Illustrated.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 122 pages. $1.75.

The latest addition to that excellent series called "The Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture" has as its subject "Carlo Crivelli." Owing to the paucity of material concerning the life of Crivelli, we have hitherto had no very adequate treatment of the painter, that in their "History of Art," by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, being perhaps the most complete of any. The present volume, therefore, supplies a lack, and should stimulate the hitherto rather slight interest taken in the works of Crivelli. As in preceding volumes of the

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series, the illustrations are not only excellent in themselves, but have been selected with good judgment as to their power to explain the various periods of the artist's life.

Charles A. Berry, D.D. By James S. Drummond. Cassell & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 316 pages. $1.50.

It would not be easy to name another man of our time who, in the space of eleven years from the date when public attention was attracted to him to the day when death removed him from earthly activities, filled a larger sphere of service and filled it better than the subject of this memoir. Cut off by the breaking strain of overwork in the prime of his powers, Charles Albert Berry left a multitude on both sides of the Atlantic who mournfully, as they read this volume, will fix their thoughts on "all the glow to which his crescent would have grown." His biographer has indulged in no fond exaggeration in his sketch of a strong and winsome and many-sided personality, a man who would worthily have realized Mr. Beecher's hope that he would be his successor had not a stronger claim held him to the duties in which he fell a sacrifice to consuming zeal.

Christian Science: Is it Safe? By the Rev. N. T. Whittaker, D.D. James H Earle, Boston. 5×7 in. 32 pages. Paper bound, 10c.

Evolution in Economics: An Analysis of Social Problems. By J. A. Ambler. De Luxe Edition. Natick, Mass. Printed from Typewritten Sheets copied from the original Manuscript. 5¾×7¾ in. 588 pages.

First Days in School. By Seth T. Stewart and Ida Coe. (Illustrated.) American Book Co., New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 92 pages. 25c.

This is the most charming of child primers. It is a genuine primer, since it requires no preliminary work from any reading-chart or blackboard. In the first half of the book script is used, and, indeed, predominates throughout the volume. The many illustrations are as apt as they are charming; we have never seen a better collection for the purpose. The vocabulary has been carefully selected, and emphasizes the prime value of the book—simplicity.

Five Great Oxford Leaders: Keble, Newman, Pusey, Liddon, and Church. By the Rev. Aug. B. Donaldson, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 390 pages. $1.75.

One may be familiar with the story of the great revival in the Church of England which goes by the name of "the Oxford Movement," and yet find these brief biographies of its representative characters productive of a freshened interest, through the cumulative impression they make of unity in diversity. Though the author profoundly sympathizes with these men in the bitter controversy to which they gave occasion, he is very far from any polemical spirit. One may believe, indeed, that the Oxford Movement was, in the line it took, a positive anachronism, and yet find in these sketches a quickened impulse in the spiritual life.

Fortune of War, The. By Elizabeth N. Barrow. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 268 pages. $1.25.

"The Fortune of War" consists of portions of many "Letters and Journals Written to and for Her Cousin, Mistress Dorothea Engel of Carthmoor Hall, Northumberland, England, whose descendants have preserved them until the present Day." The supposed writer is Katherine Patison; the period is the year which she spent in America during our Revolution. The real writer, Elizabeth Barrow, has done her work, not only well, but delightfully well.

Garland of Sonnets, A. By Craven Langstroth Betts. (Illustrated.) The A. Wessels Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 64 pages. $1.25.

A well-printed volume containing thirty-three sonnets in praise of great writers from Homer to Mistral; dignified in style, with a great many felicitous lines, disclosing intelligent study and apprehension of the different qualities and varying genius of the poets, and betraying everywhere great admiration for beauty of thought and form. The volume is interesting, not only because of many real excellencies of verse, but because it is in so high a key.

George Buchanan. By Robert Wallace. (Famous Scots Series.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×7¼ in. 150 pages. 75c.

The latest addition to the brief biographies now being published under the general title "Famous Scots Series," presenting a study of one of the most interesting of early Scotch scholars and writers; a man of whom Scaliger said that he was superior to the temptations of wealth and fame, devoting himself to literary studies, and chiefly to writing verse. His version of Hebrew psalms, or rather of a series of poems based on the psalms, written while he was a prisoner in Portugal under the care of the Inquisition, was prepared to ease his own mind and give him occupation. These compact monographs bring into convenient form a great deal of literary information not easily accessible.

Glimpses Across the Sea. By Sam T. Clover. (Illustrated.) Windiknowe Publishing Co., Evanston, Ill. 5½×8 in. 154 pages.

Helps to a Better Christian Life. Compiled by the Rev. George Wolfe Shinn, D.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 4¾×7½ in. 239 pages. $1.

This compilation from the pens of eminent preachers in the Anglican Church and the Episcopal Church in this country contains forty selections, available for use either in church or the home. While prepared specially for the Lenten season, it is equally serviceable on other occasions.

History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 364 pages. $2.

To those who have read the earlier edition of this work it is only necessary to say that two chapters have been added, one of which is an invaluable review of the growth of the German Social Democracy. To those who have not read the earlier edition it may be said that, in spite of the additions now made, the volume is still the most compact as well as the most illuminating account of the greatest economic movement of our generation. Mr. Kirkup's sympathy with the moral ideals of Socialism has enabled him to comprehend all

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the elements of strength in the great movement, while the judicial temper of his mind constantly secures from the reader the cordial indorsement of the judgments rendered.

History of the Spanish-American War of 1898. By Richard H. Titherington. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 415 pages. $1.50.

For the first time since the conclusion of the war between the United States and Spain, a volume is put forth on that subject which is not a rehash of newspaper correspondence or of magazine articles written rather for pictorial effect than for historical accuracy. Mr. Titherington has evidently put hard work into his book. He has gone into the official documents and reports, and where accounts differ about a particular event, the varying statements are indicated either in the text or in foot-notes. The history, however, is much more than a mere compilation. We can cordially commend it as an extremely valuable work of reference. The author has no theories to advocate and no argument to enforce; his purpose throughout is evidently to present facts clearly, in due proportion, with historic perspective, and with painstaking accuracy.

House of a Hundred Lights, The. By Frederic Ridgely Torrence. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 3¾×7 in. 100 pages. $1.

Mr. Torrence is a young poet who has taken a Persian verse-form as the medium for expressing a few poetic ideas, some very genuine poetic fancies, and a selection of views on men and things in general. The experiment is in the main successful, and what Mr. Torrence has done is especially promising, not by reason of its perfection of form, but by reason of a certain freedom and ease of movement. He writes like a man who has something to say and who has not wholly mastered the art of saying it. He gives expression to his aims, as a poet must, but he seems to have a general view of things behind his aims, which is likely to relate his experiences to one another, to rationalize them, and to give him finally a deposit of truth. Some of these verses are neither smooth in form nor original in thought; but out of the hundred quatrains there are many which will bear re-reading, which give pleasure to the imagination, and awaken the hope that here are the beginnings of another poet:

"Doubt everything," the Thinker said
when I was parch'd with Reason's drought.
Said he, "Trust me, I've probed these things;
have utter faith in me—and doubt!"

Though the sky reel and Day dissolve,
and though a myriad suns fade out,
One thing of Earth seems permanent
and founded on Belief: 'tis—Doubt.

The world's great rule is, "Give and take;"
and, so that Custom may not smother,
I'll give Doubt freely with one hand
and take Faith freely by the other.

Yes, he that wove the skein of Stars
and poured out all the seas that are
Is Wheel and Spinner and the Flax,
and Boat and Steersman and the Star.

What! doubt the Master Workman's hand
because my fleshly ills increase?
No; for there still remains one chance
that I am not His Masterpiece.

House of Martha and Pomona's Travels. By Frank R. Stockton. (Shenandoah Edition. Vols. VII. and VIII.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8¼ in. Sold by subscription.

The first of these two additions to an excellent edition is one of Mr. Stockton's more elaborate novels, which, though rather too long, has plenty of character and fancy. The second, the series of letters written by Pomona, of "Rudder Grange," to her former mistress, furnishes some of the pleasantest illustrations of Mr. Stockton's quaint and individualistic humor. It is not one of his most characteristic books; but it is safe to say that no one could have written it but the author of "Rudder Grange."

Iroka: Tales of Japan. By Adachi Kinnosuké. Doubleday & McClure Co., New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 295 pages. $1.25.

A series of short stories, with a Japanese background, told by a Japanese with the refinement of feeling and the delicacy of style which are characteristic of the lovers of the cherry and the apple blossom. It is interesting to note how much intensity of emotion and power of passion can be suggested in the fine lines of Japanese art. The old time and the new are happily sketched in the different stories in this volume, which is penetrated throughout with that Japanese quality, so elusive that no Occidental has ever captured it, so evident that no Occidental of sensitive imagination ever entirely escapes it.

Joannes Nevius and his Descendants, 1627-1900. By A. Van Doren Honeyman. Honeyman & Co., Plainfield. (Illustrated.) 6×9¾ in. 731 pages.

This genealogy has little interest for the general public, but it has much particular interest for the descendants of Joannes Nevius, third Secretary of New Amsterdam under the Dutch, and first Secretary of New York under the English. Strange as it may seem, the descendants of Joannes Nevius have spelled their family name in over two hundred different ways.

John Ruskin: A Sketch of His Life, His Work, and His Opinions, with Personal Reminiscences. By M. H. Speilmann. Together with a paper by John Ruskin, entitled The Black Arts, and a Note on Ruskin by Harrison S. Morris. (Illustrated.) The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 234 pages. $2.

A brief and beautifully printed biography, with some excellent architectural illustrations, and a number of portraits of Ruskin at different stages in his life, presenting the opinions and the facts in the life of Ruskin very briefly and very affectionately, with sympathetic portraiture of the man, made possible, the author tells us, by his own personal knowledge, and by the impressions which he gained from Mr. and Mrs. Severn.

Journal of the Plague Year, A. By Daniel Defoe. (The Temple Classics. Edited by Israel Gollancz.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 317 pages. 50c.

Last of the Great Scouts: The Life Story of Colonel William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill." By his sister, Helen Cody Wetmore. (Illustrated.) The Duluth Press Publishing Co., Duluth. 5½×8 in. 296 pages.

Mrs. Helen Cody Wetmore, a sister of Colonel W. F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill," has published a biography of him, and

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has entitled it "The Last of the Great Scouts." Incidentally considerable light is shed upon Western life in days before the Civil War and since, on the Indian campaigns, and on army life at our outposts. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in Mrs. Wetmore's interesting book is that which describes how the sobriquet of "Buffalo Bill" was won; but the most informative and suggestive chapter is that on the Government's Indian policy. So popular a publication is bound to have a wide circulation.

Le Morte d'Arthur. By Sir Thomas Malory. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 2 vols. $3.

It is always a pleasure to commend the form of the volumes belonging to the Library of English Classics. The lightness of weight of the books, the simplicity of the cover design, the excellence of type and paper, are all what such a series should have. Sir Thomas Malory's famous work is here presented in a library edition which very many readers will delight to possess.

Letters of Thomas Gray. Selected by Henry Milnor Rideout. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 3¾×6½ in. 222 pages. $1.

A selection of fifty-five letters from Mr. Gosse's edition of Gray's works, with a very well written and judicious introduction, which conveys not only a just but a charming impression of the poet's career, character, and genius. The volume has all the interest which attaches to this form of literary art when it is practiced by a master, and Gray was certainly one of its masters in a century prolific of good letter-writers. He holds a foremost place as a letter-writer with Cowper, Walpole, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Dean Swift. He had pre-eminently the sense of form; he could touch nothing without lending it a certain distinction; and, like all the other good letter-writers, he was not oppressed with a consciousness that he was writing to a constituency of readers instead of to a friend. The letters are characterized with a light touch even when they deal with serious things.

Loom of Life, The. By Oliver Huckel. John S. Bridges & Co. (The Arundel Press), Baltimore. 4½×6 in. 35 pages. 25c.

Monopolies and Trusts. By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. (The Citizen's Library.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 278 pages. $1.25.

Old Friends at Cambridge and Elsewhere. By J. Willis Clark, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 397 pages. $1.75.

A group of eleven biographical studies of such men as Whewell, Thirlwall, Lord Houghton, Edward Henry Palmer, William H. Thompson, and Richard Owen; written in a clear, straightforward style from personal knowledge, and in a very sympathetic spirit; a group of studies which are well-drawn portraitures of some of the most interesting and influential scholars and thinkers of the last fifty years.

Practical Study of Languages. By Henry Sweet, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 280 pages. $1.50.

No better book on the subject, and none by a more competent hand, has come to our knowledge. Dr. Sweet starts with the axiom that, since languages have to be learned, the main question is not, What languages or what mode of learning them yields the best mental discipline? but, What is the most economical and efficient way of learning them? The best way, he holds, must be based on a mastery of phonetics, which stands in the same relation to the science of language as mathematics to astronomy. The next thing is, that he who would master any foreign language must first master his own. A large part of what Dr. Sweet has to say is concerned with the true method of study, and with criticisms of defective methods. These take a wide range, including the use of grammar, dictionaries, reading-books, conversation, translation, literary composition, the dead and the Oriental languages, and original conversation. The book represents the advanced line of the demand for reform of antiquated or unsound methods of language study. The author's comprehensive grasp both of general principles and minute details covers the field with a thoroughness worthy of all praise.

Physiology. (Briefer Course.) By Buel P. Colton, A.M. (Illustrated.) D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, Mass. 5×7¼ in. 386 pages. 90c.

Princes and Other Poems, The. By Lord Tennyson. (The Temple Classics. Edited by Israel Gollancz.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 301 pages. 50c.

Professor, The. By Charlotte Brontë. (Novels of the Sisters Brontë: The Thornton Edition.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8¼ in. 378 pages. $2.

This story was sent back by one publisher after another, and was not published until two years after the death of its author, when it was brought out by one of the houses which had refused it eleven years earlier.

Psychology of Religion. By Edwin Diller Starbuck, Ph.D. Preface by William James. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×7¼ in. 423 pages. $1.50.

Rational Grammar of the English Language, A. By W. B. Powell, A.M., and Louise Connolly, M.S. American Book Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 320 pages. 60c.

The authors of this new grammar do not follow the usual method of basing their rules and terminology on those of Latin grammar. They present our language as it exists; they develop their subjects naturally. The student is led to study words, both from their use and from their need. We note that the book is not an experiment; it has been thoroughly tried in the schools of the capital of our country.

Renaissance and Modern Art. By W. H. Goodyear, M.A. (Illustrated.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 310 pages. $1.

If any students of art have not at hand Professor Goodwin's admirable books, they might well be advised to make good the lack. To his "Roman and Mediæval Art" now appropriately succeeds "Mediæval and Modern Art." These volumes are capital popular compendiums, the latter leading up naturally to the study of Pastor, Burckhardt, Symonds, and others who have treated more at length of the Renaissance. Mr. Goodwin's most suggestive chapters are on the philosophy of architecture, sculpture and painting and their decline, and his most interesting chapter

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concerning modern times is that on "Recent American Art." It contains many noteworthy opinions; for instance, we note that in ideal and suggestive art Mr. Vedder is placed first among living moderns, our author even claiming that Mr. Vedder stands on a surer ground in his choice of subjects, as being closer to average popular appreciation, than does such a master as George Frederick Watts. Over two hundred illustrations double the value of Mr. Goodwin's book.

Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England. By W. De Loss Love, Ph.D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5¼×7¾ in. 379 pages. $1.50.

This volume of historical studies, mainly in hitherto unpublished manuscripts, is of special value and interest. The efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indians, which John Eliot and others began during the first century of New England, were prosecuted during the second century, and Dartmouth College is their memorial. Conspicuous among the Christian Indians of the latter period was Samson Occom, the only Indian preacher who was ever offered the D.D., and that from Edinburgh, which modestly he declined. Occom was a noble character of far-seeing and statesmanlike breadth of view, who deserves commemoration. Not only does Dartmouth College owe its existence to his mission to England, but our struggle for independence was greatly advantaged by the pacific attitude of the Oneida tribe, where he had begun an influential work. The heaviest losses for the cause of our national liberty were those which the Christian Indians of New England sustained. Their changeful and pathetic story here related bears testimony to the Christian humanity with which the New England Puritans generally treated the native tribes.

Secondary School System of Germany, The. By Frederick E. Bolton, M.S., Ph.D. D. Appleton & Co., New York. (International Education Series.) 4½×7 in. 398 pages. $1.50.

The latest addition to the International Education Series is a careful survey of the German Secondary School System, presenting its organization, its requirements from the teachers, courses of study, with a chapter on the secondary and higher education of women, and with another summing up the strength and weakness of the system according to the judgment of the author. The book will require fuller notice.

Skeptic's Defense, The. By C. M. Landers. Published by the Author, Ridgeland, New York. 5¾×9 in. 442 pages. 75c.

This book is a bitter arraignment of Christianity, but fails to offer anything better in its place.

Sovereign Ladies of Europe, The. Edited by the Countess A. von Bothmer. (Illustrated.) J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5½×8¼ in. 415 pages. $4.

Countess von Bothmer has put together some interesting accounts of women of royal rank. Her accounts are doubly interesting by reason of many portraits and views of residences, especially views of interiors, and more particularly such intimate interiors as private sitting-rooms, photographs of which it is usually difficult to obtain. The chapters have for subject-matter the Queen of England, the present Empresses of Russia and Germany, the Empress Frederick, the Queen Regent of Spain, the Queens of Italy, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Rumania, Greece, Portugal, Saxony, Wurtemberg, the late Empress of Austria, and the late Queen of Denmark.

Sunday-School Pictures: Series of Views from Nature. Reproductions from Original Photographs. Size of card, 6×8 in. 1c. each. W. A. Wilde Co., Boston.

Terence. By Mrs. B. M. Croker. F. M. Buckles & Co., New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 320 pages. $1.25.

Upward Steps. By Gerard B. F. Hallock, D.D. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 4½×7 in. 229 pages.

A series of twenty-two short papers on the general subject of cultivating personal religion.

Why Keep Lent? By Robert A. Holland, S.T.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5¼×6¼ in. 21 pages. Paper bound, 10c.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address.

1. From the standpoint of evolutionist thought how do you explain the philosophy of Regeneration? Professor Drummond and others seem to speak of the introduction of a new element, but I cannot accept that in my own thinking. 2. Does Dr. Abbott's book "Theology of an Evolutionist" discuss the matter? R. M.

1. What birth is to physical life, regeneration, which Jesus calls the birth "from above" (John iii.), is to spiritual life. It is not the infusion of a new element, but the evolution of a potency previously latent—the "power to become children of God" in character (John i., 12). The result is "newness of life" (Romans vi., 4). The efficient power of the spiritual as of the physical evolution is God, the Spirit who in the beginning brooded the formless deep (Genesis i., 2; Psalm civ., 30; John iii., 8.) 2. The chapters on "Redemption by Evolution" and "Evolution and Sacrifice" bear on Regeneration.

1. Kindly state the chief points in the Swedenborgian creed. 2. Also the main difference between the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. 3. What is the best book on Unitarianism which is within the understanding of the ordinary intelligent thinker? H. L. M.

These questions will be found compactly and clearly answered in a little book by the Rev. Dr. Lyon, "A Study of the Sects" (American Unitarian Association, Boston, 50 cents).

Some months ago I found in your columns a notice of a child's catechism. It was described as very simple, compiled by a clergyman for his own use, all the questions being answered by short verses from the Bible. Can you tell me where I can procure it? K. M.

It was probably "Gospel Truth for Young People," by the Rev. Dr. Cooper, for use in Junior Endeavor classes

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(the United Society of Christian Endeavor, 646 Washington Street, Boston, 5 cents).

I frequently meet men of upright moral character—not irreligious—who, in a general sense, approve of churches, who encourage their families to attend, and who contribute liberally, but who give, as their reason for themselves not becoming members, that they cannot fully subscribe to the doctrines for which the given church is supposed to stand. I myself am a member of a Baptist church, and am frequently charged with inconsistency for remaining in that Church and holding views inconsistent with generally accepted Calvinism. My critics maintain that until my Church openly renounces certain of its traditional doctrines I have no right to remain in the Church holding views at variance with these. How far am I to admit the validity of this criticism? And how far am I justified in encouraging others to unite with the Church in the exercise of the common Protestant right to freedom of opinion in the Church? In other words, is it wise or morally right for one to remain in any Protestant Church and to counsel others to become members of that Church, which, in its recognized standing before the world, does not represent his own individual opinions?

W. W. H.

The Scriptural view of the matter is that the Church is the society authorized by Christ to promote the keeping of his commandments (Matthew xxviii., 20), not for the inculcation of the theologies which sprang up later. Even on the unscriptural ground that it is a society to promote theological doctrines, this is expected to be done by the pulpit teachings; the members are regarded as learners ("disciples"); their membership implies assent to nothing they have not expressly committed themselves to. Those who criticise you would admit that membership in a political party is not inconsistent for one who declines to be in all points a thoroughgoing party man. A criterion of church membership that concedes no freedom of thought would be fatal to a large range of co-operative action, if consistently applied.

1. What is the difference between "Socialism" as popularly understood, and *Christian* Socialism? 2. What do you consider the merits and demerits of the single-tax theory as advocated by Henry George? 3. Compare and contrast his theory with that of the Socialists, and please mention the best works to consult on the subject. 4. What is the modern view now held by our advanced theological writers on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception? Kindly give references, and oblige

J. C.

1. Socialism may be rather loosely defined as the economic demand that the community, as the corporation of all the people, shall take over the control of industries now in the hands of many corporations of individuals. Christian Socialism is an ethical, not an economic, demand. As Frederick Maurice defined it fifty years ago, it is "the assertion of God's order," the demand for a practical recognition of the divine idea of human society as based on love and fellow-help, not on selfish competitive instincts. The word "Christian" in this connection, said he, is not a mere adjective describing a kind of socialism. 2 and 3. We have not space to answer questions in this column which require an essay in reply. 4. This question is often put by those who imagine that the "immaculate conception" means the virgin birth of Jesus. It denotes rather the dogma of the Roman Church that the Virgin Mary was exempt from the birth-taint of original sin. As to the virgin birth, which you intend to ask about, liberal orthodox thinkers, so far as their views are in print, go no further than to hold that it is not an essential doctrine of Christianity, as it is not mentioned in any of the apostolic epistles, and only in two of the Gospels, in which its original character is open to some question.

1. Will you please name a few of the best books that will, by a not too extensive course of reading, give one a good idea of the theory of evolution as it is accepted by recent thinkers? 2. What do you consider the best books for a beginner of the study of sociology?

H. S. R.

1. We think your need will best be met by reading one thoroughly good book by a most competent exponent of the theory, viz., Professor Le Conte's "Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought" (Appleton, New York). After this you can take up the subject in its details, and its phases of present special interest. 2. Books recommended on the subject are: "American Charities," by Amos G. Warner (T. Y. Crowell); "The Development of Thrift" (Macmillan); "The Co-operative Movement," by Beatrice Potter (Charles Scribner's Sons); "Labor Copartnership," by Henry D. Lloyd (Harpers); "History of Trades-Unionism," by Sidney Webb (Longmans, Green & Co.); "Labor Movement in the United States," by Richard T. Ely (T. Y. Crowell); "An Outline of Practical Sociology, by Carroll D. Wright (Longmans, Green & Co.); "The City Wilderness," by Robert A. Woods (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.); "Hull House Maps and Papers" (T. Y. Crowell & Co.); "Outlines of English Industrial History," by Dr. Cunningham (Macmillan); "Industrial Revolution," by Arnold Toynbee (Humboldt Publishing Company, New York); "Outlines of Economics," by Richard T. Ely (Hunt & Eaton, New York); Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations;" Francis A. Walker's "Political Economy."

As so much interest is being manifested in the line of liturgical enrichment of the Sabbath morning service in non-liturgical churches, it would perhaps help many pastors and church committees studying this matter to know where to find liturgies suitable for introduction. At all events, I should be happy to have a list of liturgical books. Already I know of the following: The liturgies of the Episcopal, Reformed Episcopal, German and Dutch Reformed, and Lutheran Churches; "The American Book of Church Services," by Edward Hungerford (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.); "Union Prayer-Book by Episcopal Clergyman for Non-Episcopal Churches" (A. S. Barnes & Co.); "General Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer," by Samuel Hopkins, D.D. (A. S. Barnes & Co.). Do you know of any others?

D. S.

We would add to the above the "Book of Common Order of the Church Service Society of Scotland;" also an excellent "Scriptural Service Book," published years ago in cheap form by Ferguson Brothers, Philadelphia. "Liturgies Eastern and Western" is a reprint of the texts of the most representative liturgies (Macmillan, London).

According to Luke (xxiv., 46, 47) our Lord states that it is written in the Scriptures that the Christ should rise from the dead the third day; and that salvation should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. What passages are there which can fairly be interpreted as making these predictions?

A. L. P.

Meyer, commenting on the passage quoted here rather inexactly, says that it can only be understood as a general summary of the import of Messianic prophecy in the Old Testament. No specific passage of it receives the fulfillment stated as found in Christ's death, resurrection, and mission to the nations. It is only in a general and spiritual way that the "Hope of Israel," as embodied in Messianic prophecy, has been fulfilled.

The poem by Minot J. Savage, for which "K. B." inquires, is

"WHERE IS GOD?"

"Oh, where is the sea?" the fishes cried,
As they swam the crystal clearness through.
"We've heard from old of the ocean's tide,
And we long to look on the waters blue.
The wise ones speak of the infinite sea,
Oh, who can tell us if such there be?"

The lark flew up in the morning bright,
And sung and balanced on sunny wings;
And this was its song: "I see the light,
I look o'er a world of beautiful things;
But, flying and singing everywhere,
In vain have I searched to find the air."

N. N. H.

NO ADDRESS.—Notwithstanding the notice at the head of this column that an inquiry must be accompanied by the writer's address, we are continually obliged to refuse reply to correspondents who neglect this condition.

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Correspondence

Must the Majority Always Rule?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Will you permit me a word in your columns concerning the parable by which in an editorial article in a recent issue you illustrate your principle as to the ground of authority and the proper basis of government? Your parable is a clear and admirable formulation of the philosophy of your discussion of the Philippine question during the past year; and it is because it is so simple and concrete that I should like to ask your readers to consider seriously whether it is sound and true.

Your case is that of an ocean steamer, with two hundred first-class passengers, a thousand steerage passengers, and seventy-five seamen, wrecked on a desert island, with all the officers lost. What, in such a case, is the proper procedure? Would the company confer together, first-class passengers, steerage passengers, and seamen, alike, and determine by the general will and judgment what course shall be pursued and who shall be leaders, how the stores shall be managed, and the common defense be provided for? You say that in such an exigency no such course would be, or ought to be, pursued. "It would be the duty of the wisest and strongest men in the party," you say, "to take control, to secure possession of the firearms if they could, and compel obedience to their authority if it was resisted; to consider what disposition of the company's resources gave the greatest hope for the common safety; and to maintain, by whatever exercise of power might be required, supremacy in determining this and kindred questions."

I submit that the course which you thus commend would be the worst course in the case supposed, and precisely that which ought not to be pursued. It would be an unjust course; and it would also be the course calculated to make the company most inefficient and its prospects of escape from a desperate strait darkest. The true and promising course, I maintain, would be precisely the other—the policy of mutual conference and trust. I maintain, too, that this would be the course taken by any civilized company sailing from New York and wrecked in the circumstances described. It would never occur to the "wisest and strongest" to seize the firearms saved from the wreck and forcibly impose their authority upon the company. There would be a general conference; inquiry would be made as to the talent and experience which there might be in the varied circles of the company; and leadership would be agreed upon by common consent. If the "wisest and strongest" were to take control, secure the firearms, and compel obedience, the question would instantly and properly arise, Who are the "wisest and strongest," the best leaders? They would probably be some of the seamen; but they would very possibly be some of the passengers. Conference would determine it; the conclusions of mutual conference would give confidence and enthusiasm, the true "ground of authority" and "basis of government," whether on a desert island or in the Philippines; while obedience compelled by men who arrogated to themselves the distinction of being the "wisest and strongest," and fortifying themselves by the seizure of firearms, would, from the start, be in danger of turning into mutiny on the part of another set of men thinking themselves "wisest and strongest," and whetting their wits as to how to steal the guns.

We have followed in the Philippines the course which you commend in your parable; and we have made a bad business of it. Sir Andrew Clarke and others have tried the other course—with the results described by Mr. Clifford in his article in the November "Atlantic." Christianity is more than righteousness; it is common sense. Men distrust the people and think they must be taken in hand and governed by dictation instead of by conference; but the lesson of history is that the democratic principle is safe, and that it alone is safe; that when people are taken into confidence they respond like men, know who their right leaders and helpers are, and are faithful to them. Sir

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Andrew Clarke found that the chiefs of the Malay Peninsula "were willing to listen to reason, as the vast majority of persons, whether wearing silk hats or turbans, usually are." We, too, may be quite sure that there is no need of the "wisest and strongest" securing firearms and compelling obedience, on the part either of men wrecked from a Cunarder or struggling for a better life in the Philippines. Such a course only hinders right and reason.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

["Conference," "trust," and "mutual consent" would be very wise; but leaving the fate of the shipwrecked party to be determined by a count of heads, and permitting the ignorant to impose unsanitary conditions, provoke a quarrel with savages, or dissipate the stores by extravagant or careless use, would be very unwise. The course recommended by Sir Edward Clarke and Mr. Clifford is the one which both the President and the Secretary of War have recommended to be pursued, and which we hope to see pursued as soon as our authority to pursue any course has been established.—THE EDITORS.]

Are You Not Too Dogmatic?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

You have repeatedly stated your opinion that the people of the United States, while morally bound to act justly in dealing with their newly acquired territory, are not legally bound by their Constitution; because, as you assume, this territory is not under the Constitution. In fact, the question whether the territory is under the Constitution is really a question whether the United States Government is under the Constitution, because the territory is subject to the United States Government.

The people of the United States possess all the legal rights of a sovereign nation over newly acquired territory. But they can exercise these rights only through the Federal Government, which was created by the Constitution, and must act under it. Such, at all events, was the view expressed by the Federal Supreme Court in the case of Murphy v. Ramsey (114 United States Reports, 15). Congress derives its power to legislate respecting newly acquired territory, like all its other powers, from the Constitution which created it. The Federal Supreme Court is the final authority with which rests the determination whether any particular clause of the Constitution applies to legislation respecting newly acquired territory. This Court held, in the case of Cross v. Harrison (16 Howard, 164), that the Constitutional provision enjoining that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States applied to territory acquired since the adoption of the Constitution. This decision would seem to indicate that the same provision would prevent the imposition by Congress of a tax upon trade between Puerto Rico and the rest of the domain of the United States. But, should the Court hold otherwise, Congress would still act under the Constitution in legislating for this territory. The fact that the inhabitants of these newly acquired islands are not in a position to test the validity of the acts of Congress does not affect their constitutionality. To say that, because they cannot bring a suit in the Supreme Court for that purpose, Congress is justified in passing laws which would be declared unconstitutional if tested, is only another way of saying that a corporation may violate its charter if no one objects to it, or a man may violate the law if the one he injures cannot punish him—a proposition as unsound in law as it is in morals. The Constitution is not an agreement or compact between individuals; it is a form of government of a nation. The compact theory was given its final quietus at the time of the Civil War. If the sovereign people of the United States find that Congress has not the power under the Constitution to pass the legislation necessary for the government of this newly acquired territory in such manner as they desire, they can provide for such legislation by appropriate amendments to the Constitution.

Legally, the people of the United States may govern Puerto Rico in any way they desire, by making the necessary changes in the Federal Government. But, morally, they are bound to preserve to the inhabitants of this territory the immunities and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution in its present form. The assurance that these immunities and privileges would be preserved was given to the people of Puerto Rico in words of no

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uncertain sound. The honor of the Nation demands the fulfillment of this assurance, both in letter and in spirit.

FRED L. NORTON.

Boston, Mass.

[Our correspondent mixes several questions together. He should remember that the question whether the Constitution applies to the new possessions is one on which able lawyers are not agreed; jurists as distinguished as Professor Thayer, of Harvard Law School, and Elihu Root, Secretary of War, who has been one of the leaders of the New York Bar, hold that it does not. It is well, therefore, not to be dogmatic on that question, which can be finally and authoritatively settled only by the United States Supreme Court. That the inhabitants of these possessions are entitled to be treated as justly and generously as if they were citizens of the United States we heartily believe. A Chinaman cannot be a citizen of the United States, but he is entitled to just and generous treatment.—THE EDITORS.]

Professor Atwater's Experiments

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Last summer I read and re-read very carefully your review of Professor Atwater's experiments, and should have written you then had not press of care prevented. Since that time two men, in whom I had great interest, and whom I hoped had been saved from the alcohol mania, have relapsed, I fear hopelessly, with this simple excuse: "You know it has been demonstrated scientifically that a little good alcoholic stimulus is highly beneficial." Neither of these men regards himself as an alcoholic habitué, yet the most casual observer in the home of either would be forced to the sure conviction of his sad enslavement. During my continuous medical practice of over forty-five years I have had occasional care of alcohol and opium habitués, not a few of whom were women. One of the most hapless and nervously broken of these—one whose case demanded long and persistent care—was a refined and cultured lady, the wife of a lawyer upon Nassau Street in New York City. In the course of six years this lady had taken a barrel of the purest rye whisky, and several cases of the finest wines. She took only a dessert or tablespoonful once in three hours. It will be seen by a moment's reflection that five dessertspoonfuls of the purest whisky contain only one-quarter the amount of alcohol, and five tablespoonfuls only one-half the amount, which Professor Atwater's experiments pronounce assimilable. This lady had never been seen drunk. Judging from the standard referred to, she had been a *very* moderate user of alcoholic liquors; yet she was a confirmed alcohol habitué when she came under my care. Her nervous restlessness and excitability of temper under stimulation were as far from being a healthful condition as were the nervous prostration and extreme depression of all the physical powers when her accustomed stimulus was withdrawn. She recovered, and for twelve years has never tasted alcoholic stimulants in any form, but her nervous system will always bear the impress of the six years of what would be termed a moderate use of alcoholic stimulus, and it would be extremely dangerous for her to use it again even for a brief period.

Alcohol in all its forms subjugates the nerve centers quite as abnormally and dangerously as does opium. The alcohol and opium habits are easily established and very difficult to overcome. The total abstainer can never understand the monomaniacal stress under which the unfortunate victims of these habits live. I am assured that the strongest man or woman could not safely use daily, for six months or a year, two and a half ounces of alcohol, or its equivalent in the purest whisky, wine, or beer. Half this amount would cause a disastrous effect upon a finely organized, susceptible brain. It is a fact that one of the greatest needs to-day is to learn the simple, exact truth in regard to the right use of alcoholic stimulants. The thousands of open saloons, with their brilliant attractions, far outnumbering in all our land our churches and public schools, are to-day among our most powerful instructors. Their lesson is that the lawmakers and the good men of our land regard alcohol and all its derivatives as both safe and beneficial, promoters of friendly household, neighborhood, and business sociability and hospitality, and a commendable source of revenue to the State. I would earnestly urge that the

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safe hygienic truth, taught only too little, be given a prominent place in our schools until the youth of our land and young men in the universities cease to be influenced and ruined by that living, legalized educator—the open saloon. This pernicious system of education must exist so long as good people believe and uphold the subtle falsehood that the continued moderate or occasional free use of alcoholic stimulus is both advantageous and right.

G.

[Our correspondent seems to us to have read the account of Professor Atwater's experiments superficially. Professor Atwater has never contended, if we understand him aright, that it is wise to take a dessert or tablespoonful of whisky once in three hours. He has never advocated the habitual use of alcohol in this or in any other form. His experiments have been purely scientific, his deductions from those experiments have been purely scientific, and the experiments have shown, what other experimenters have also shown conclusively, that alcohol under certain circumstances and in certain conditions serves the purpose of food; not by building up the tissue, that is, repairing the machinery of the body, but by furnishing energy which operates the machine. On this point see the report in last week's issue of a recent address by Professor Atwater. If the temperance text-books affirmed nothing more or other than our correspondent affirms in his letter, there would have been no crusade declared against them. It is because they put what should be an ethical reform on what purports to be, but is not, a scientific basis, and so prepare the way for the overthrow of the reform itself, when the student has learned the falsehood which has been taught him, that some of the strongest and most earnest advocates of a sound temperance reform are vigorously opposed to the continued use of the so-called temperance text-books.—THE EDITORS.]

The Berkshire Industrial Farm

To the Editors of The Outlook:

A large and enthusiastic meeting was held at the University Place Church on Sunday evening of last week, in behalf of the Berkshire Industrial Farm. Dr. George Alexander, the pastor, presided, and introduced Charlton L. Lewis., LL.D., the President of the Prison Association, and the Rev. Franklin B. Dwight, who spoke on the general subject of the best method of reforming vagrant and unruly boys, and gave an enthusiastic testimony to the good work done at the Farm, where family life and Christian influence combined with constant industrial training have met with great success in the renovation of character of the boys sent there. Dr. Lewis has been a trustee of the Farm for twelve years, and Mr. Dwight has examined the working of the institution in a recent visit.

Dr. Alexander then called upon Mr. Burnham, who said a few words describing the life of the boys at the Farm.

* *

Letters and "Moral Pocket-Handkerchiefs"

To the Editors of The Outlook:

An English compatriot of mine and I are very desirous of doing some little thing for Tommy Atkins, now "out on active service" in South Africa, and only a few days ago had an inspiration from hearing one of the Montauk nurses say that nothing gave more pleasure to the men in hospital here than the letters (accompanied with what Dickens described as "moral pocket-handkerchiefs"!) which were written to them by their unknown friends and well-wishers.

We therefore ask our "American cousins" and Canadian brothers and sisters if they will help to carry out this idea, and in this friendly way show a little sympathy with, and interest in, the wounded in South Africa.

The actual handkerchiefs we do not ask for, as, in order to save postage, they will be bought in England and sent, with the letters, direct to the front; but we *do* ask for any contributions, small or large, to aid in buying them.

The following suggestions may be helpful to those who are kind enough to cooperate in this plan:

1. Letters may be from men, women, or children; on any subject likely to be of interest and in any style; may be illustrated with newspaper pictures, unmounted kodaks, etc.

2. Letters should be *legibly* written on foreign, or thin, paper.

3. Letters should be dated from the

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city or town where written, as showing international interest; the name and address of sender would, of course, add to the personal interest of the receiver.

4. Letters and small sums under $1 will not be individually acknowledged unless by request.

5. Letters and money for handkerchiefs may be sent to Miss C. Hoskier, at Hillside, South Orange, N. J., until April 20, and afterwards at Hayes Common, Hayes, Kent, England; and to Miss C. M. E. Bell, 26 West Twenty-fifth Street, New York.

6. Each letter should be inclosed in a separate envelope, unstamped, with "S. A." (South Africa) in the left-hand upper corner.

C. M. E. Bell.
C. Hoskier.

Christianity in War-Paint

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I find myself in general agreement with your recent editorial, "The Use of Force," but not with some of its particular applications. The Filipinos are, I think, entirely justified in using force to prevent their subjection to our political control, and the Boers hardly less so in using force to prevent their subjection by Great Britain. If Chamberlain "could have secured the protection of the Outlanders without war," you say, "the war against the Transvaal is wrong." That he could have done so is made perfectly plain by Mr. Auberon Herbert in the February number of the "Contemporary Review." That we might have annexed the Philippines or established our protectorate over them without firing a shot is a conclusion forced upon me by the careful balancing of many different and some contradictory reports, including those purely official.

But what interested me most in your article was its representation of Jesus as "a man of war." I cannot say that I was surprised at this, for, since your finding in the Good Samaritan "pouring in oil and wine" an antetype of Otis pouring shot and shell into the poor Filipinos who had fallen among Spanish thieves, I have been less surprised by your departure from Christian standards than by your appeal to them from time to time. Moreover, I quite agree with you that Jesus was not the invertebrate mollusc of the "Ben-Hur" romance and many other pious representations. On the other hand, when you appeal to the representation of Jesus in the Book of Revelation, I am convinced that you are using for the purposes of mere argument what your calmer judgment could not possibly approve. From such calmer judgment I should certainly expect a view of the picture of Jesus in the Apocalypse concurrent with that of Martineau where he exclaims:

> How strange that we should ever have thought it possible for a personal attendant on the ministry of Jesus to write or edit a book in which, with the sword, the gory garment, the blasting flame, the rod of iron, as his emblems, he leads the war-march, and treads the wine-press of the wrath of God till the deluge of blood rises to the horses' bits, without a memory of his life, a feature of his look, a word from his voice, or a glance back at the hillsides of Galilee, the courts of Jerusalem, the road to Bethany.

It would, I think, be a terrible calamity if, by the demands of advocacy and the pressure of events, this Man of War were substituted for the Prince of Peace as our ideal conception of Jesus.

John White Chadwick.
Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

General Henry's Widow

An appeal to the American public has been made by a large and representative General Committee, with the object of forming a fund for the benefit of Mrs. Henry, widow of the late Brigadier-General Guy V. Henry. General Henry died last October, after forty years' uninterrupted service. As Military Governor of Puerto Rico, the Committee truly say, he developed administrative abilities of the very highest order. The Committee add:

> He labored unceasingly among the people, and the record which he made there is one of which he and the Nation may well be proud. His death was undoubtedly hastened not only by the exposure and hardships of his army life and the wounds he received in many battles in which he participated, but by the strain upon his system in bringing order out of chaos in Puerto Rico. Mrs. Henry rendered noble service in that island in establishing schools and laying the foundation for charitable work.

The proposed testimonial is in charge of a Committee including such men as ex-Secretary Alger, General A. D. Andrews, the Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, Archdeacon Brady, Major-General Wesley Merritt, the Hon. Levi P. Morton, and many others. Checks may be made payable to A. S. Frissell, Treasurer, and sent to him at the Fifth Avenue Bank, New York City.

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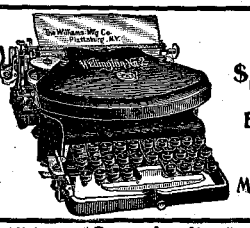

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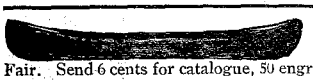

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